1754 COLUMBIA 1893 UNIVERSITY PRESS

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL STUDIES
VOL. V.

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF GAZA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES
TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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New York
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1907

Set up and electrotyped. Published August, 1907.

Norwood Press
J. S. Cushing Co. — Berwick & Smith Co.
Norwood, Mass., U.S.A.

IN DEEP GRATITUDE

TO MY BELOVED PARENTS

WHOSE SELF-SACRIFICE MADE POSSIBLE

ALL THE GOOD IN MY LIFE

NOTE

The city of Gaza has not had the glamour thrown around it which has brought so many cities on the coasts of the Mediterranean into great prominence. But it has had an importance all its own. As the objective point of the caravans that brought the merchandise of southern Arabia and of the far East to the Mediterranean, as the distributing center of this merchandise into Syria, Asia Minor, and Europe, as well as the connecting link between Palestine and Egypt, the city of Gaza is interesting to the student of history. Since K. Stark in 1852 first made the attempt to write the history of the city, a large mass of material dealing with ancient Semitic civilizations has come to light — Assyrian, Egyptian, Sabæan, and Minæan. Stark also closed his account with the year 634. Dr. Martin A. Meyer has taken up Stark's work, and has presented a picture of the life of the city and of its varying fortunes from the earliest times down to the present day. He has carefully collected and sifted all the available material. The importance of the city of Gaza will be more and more emphasized as the eastern shores of the Mediterranean are opened up to the commerce of the world, and as the projected railroads bring the inner parts of hither Asia into direct connection with the sea.

RICHARD GOTTHEIL.

PREFACE

The preparation of this thesis has developed from a matter of duty into a labor of love. The subject, which was suggested by my friend and teacher, Professor R. J. H. Gottheil, made its appeal to me chiefly because of its relation to the Holy Land, where I had spent a memorable year in investigations similar to those now called for. There I had learned the outlines of that wide subject which I had heard Mr. R. A. S. Macalister, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, term "Palestinology." Its literature and problems had since become familiar to me, so that when, in the spring of 1904, I undertook the preparation of this dissertation, I was already more or less at home on my theme.

Begun on strictly Semitic lines, the work has led one far afield; for the successive strata of Palestinian history form, as it were, a cross-section of the history of the world at large. One has been brought into contact with all the races of mankind, which had their habitat in the Mediterranean region, with their successive empires and cultures; Semite and Aryan have rubbed shoulders, exchanged customs and manners, deities and cults; trade interests, cultures, military endeavor, and literary accomplishment have intermingled in one great complex; and through it all has run, like a thread, the rise, growth, and disintegration of the city of Gaza.

Stark's monumental work, "Gaza und die Philistäische Küste," has naturally been my guide; but, splendid as it is, it has its decided limitations. When Stark wrote (1852), the remarkable discoveries of Assyriology and, in a large part, too, of Egyptology were still in the future. He knew nothing of the pre-Israelitish history of the Philistine coast. His dependence was entirely on the later Greek historians and on

the few isolated notices in the Bible. Moreover, his use of Scripture may well be characterized as unscientific. If he had any knowledge of Biblical criticism, he applied its results to his work but little, if at all: so that it may well be claimed, yet modestly, that the following chapters on these early periods are new *ab initio*.

In the period from Alexander the Great to the capture of Gaza by the Moslems, I have done little but summarize the results presented by Stark. This period lay rather in the field of Graeco-Roman civilization; and here Stark was preëminent. His knowledge of the classics was wide; and I could not hope to add anything to his contributions. Here and there I have been able to uncover new facts; but these have been so unimportant as to leave the general trend of his conclusions unaffected. The Christian mortuary inscriptions and the inscription of Ptolemy, son of Serenes, are about the only new items of importance in this field.

Stark's work ended with the capture of the city by the Moslems. Here again I have been able to add something; and the investigations have been brought down to the present day. With the advent of the Arabs the old culture passed away, and the field again became Semitic. In this era of the city's history I had none to follow; pioneer work had to be done, the only materials available being widely scattered notices. The problem presented itself of setting in the general history of the Orient the particular facts relating to Gaza; of putting each fact in its proper place and bringing it into connection with the whole. Given the point of contact, one was asked to find the larger circumference which it indicated.

The limitations of such a work must be apparent. I have had access to no manuscript sources, but have had to depend on printed editions and reports. To the inaccessibility of many valuable works are due lacunae, which I hope at some future time to be able to fill in.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Gottheil, who has taken more than a passing interest in the work, for his constant assistance and valuable suggestions; to Dr. William

Popper, formerly Gustav Gottheil Lecturer at Columbia University, who kindly assisted me in the work of culling references from Arabic sources; to the librarians of the State Library at Albany and of Columbia University for their kindness in procuring books for my assistance; and to the librarian of Hamilton College for the loan of special works bearing on the subject.

MARTIN A. MEYER.

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK,
April, 1907.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE SUBSEQUENT PAGES

Arch. Researches . .	*Archæological Researches*, Clermont-Ganneau.
Ab. Zar.	*Abodah Zarah* (Talmud).
Bab. Gesch.	*Babylonische Geschichte*, Tiele.
B.B. & D.	Brown, Briggs, and Driver, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.*
C.I.Gr.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.*
C.I.S.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.*
Chron. Pasch. . . .	*Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf.
E.B.	*Encyclopædia Biblica*, Cheyne and Black.
𝔊	*Septuagint;* Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek.*
Gesch. B. & A. . . .	*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Winckler.
Gl.	Eduard Glaser.
H.E.	*Historia Ecclesiastica.*
Hor.	*Horayot* (Talmud).
J.A.I.	*Journal of the Anthropological Institute.*
J.A.O.S.	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
J.E.	*Jewish Encyclopædia.*
J.P.	*History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Emil Schuerer, English version by Rev. John Macpherson.
J.Q.R.	*Jewish Quarterly Review.*
K.B.	*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, E. Schrader.
LXX.	*The Septuagint;* Swete, *op. cit.*
Marc. Diac.	*Vita Porphyrii* by Marcus Diaconus, Bollandist's library.
M.D.O.G.	*Mittheilungen der deutschen Orients Gesellschaft.*
M.V.G.	*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.*
Onomastica, or O.S. .	*Onomastica Sacra*, Eusebius, ed. Lagarde.
P.E.F.Q.S.	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.*

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE SUBSEQUENT PAGES

Q.C.R.	Quintus Curtius Rufus.
R.B.	*Revue Biblique.*
Sabb.	*Sabbath* (Talmud).
Steph. Byz.	Stephen of Byzantium.
S.W.P.	*Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine.*
Rev. Arch.	*Revue Archeologique.*
Tot. Orb. Desc. . . .	*Totius Orbis Descriptio.*
Z.A.	*Zeitschrifte für Assyriologie.*
Z.D.M.G.	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
Z.D.P.V.	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palestina Vereins.*

CONTENTS

PART I

PART II

PART I

HISTORY OF THE CITY OF GAZA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Names — Site — Port of Gaza — Old and New Gaza

Gaza, as the most southwesterly town of Palestine on the route to Egypt, has enjoyed from the earliest times a unique position in the history of that land. All exact knowledge of its foundation has been lost in the mists of legend and folk-lore; but it has existed from the remotest period and has had an almost uninterrupted history down to the present day. The secret of its long-continued existence is its position on the border of the Egyptian desert. As the last town on the road to Egypt and the first to be reached after emerging from the desert, it became a provisioning point for the caravans. In early times numerous trade-routes centered here; and the commercial importance of the place was only rivaled by its strategic value from a military point of view. The possession of Gaza became a bone of contention between the rulers of Egypt and those of Palestine and Syria. This rivalry was particularly acute between the older Pharaonic dynasties and the Assyrians, and, later, between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ; and during the medieval period and in modern times the struggle was renewed between the Egyptian kings and the lords of Damascus. It may be noted, too, that whenever Egypt was able to conquer and hold Gaza, the affairs of that kingdom were in general at the highwater mark of prosperity. Only during the palmiest days of the kingdom was Egypt able to hold this outpost of Palestine, whose possession meant the control of the trade and military routes between Asia and Africa.

It is interesting to note that as long as the center of history remained in the Mediterranean world, the fate of nations was mirrored in that of this solitary city. Gaza passed from one to another of a whole procession of conquerors, each of whom strove for its possession, and in turn handed over the stronghold to his successor in the ambitious quest of world-rule. As soon, however, as the center of history shifted from the Mediterranean coasts to the Atlantic seaboard, the city became of less and less account. After the Crusades, its interest and importance markedly declined; and to-day, the caravan trade having become a thing of the past, and the military value of the site having been diminished by this fact as well as by the comparative unimportance of the surrounding lands, Gaza is but a survival of a bygone age, interesting only because of its antiquity and history.

Gaza has always been a favorite resort of the Bedouins of the desert, who have frequented its markets, though they have avoided Hebron. At Gaza they disposed of their plunder and provisioned themselves for their desert wanderings. The common interests of the inhabitants of Gaza and of the Arabs of the peninsula kept both friendly; the necessity of a market for their spices and frankincense being just as great for the Arabs as the importance of this trade was for the prosperity of the city. The further fact that from the earliest times many of the population were Arabs contributed to harmony.

"Gaza" is the common transliteration of the Hebrew עַזָּה, Γάζα, as found in the Septuagint, and thence adopted into all the modern languages of Europe. On some of the coins of the city the name is spelled עז [1]; but whether this was due to want of space or whether the name was purposely shortened it is difficult to decide. On the monuments the name of the city is found variously spelled. In Egyptian it is rendered *Ga-ḏa-tu* (or *Ga-ṣa-tu*),[2] "g" representing ע (*'ayin*) in Hebrew and *ghayin* in Arabic.[3] In the Assyrian records also it has several spellings, viz. *Ḥa-az-zu-tu*,[4] *Ḥa-zi-ti*,[5] *Ḥa-zi-it-ti*,[6] *Ḥa-za-zu-at-a-a*,[7] and *Ḥa-za-at-a-a*;[8] while in the Tell el-Amarna letters *Azzati* [9] is found a most interesting and suggestive variant. In south Arabic it is rendered

עזה,[10] and in Arabic proper *Ghazzah*. The usual transliteration in Greek was as stated above, Γάζα; but Ἄζα is found as an alternative in Stephen of Byzantium.[11] The Hebrew *'ayin*, as in this case, was frequently represented by the *gamma* in Greek.[12] In the "Onomastica Sacra," [13] it is explicitly stated that the Hebrew word began not with a consonant, but with a vocal. Finally the name has been identified philologically (cf. *infra*, ch. iv.) with the *Kadytis* of Herodotus.[14]

The name of the city has been generally derived in Hebrew tradition, as reported by Eusebius in his "Onomastica Sacra," [15] from עזז, "to be strong." The difficulty in accepting this tradition grows out of the fact that the Arabic word for "strong" is *'azîz*, spelled with an *'ayin*, the same as the Hebrew. If this tradition were correct, then we should expect the Arabic name of the city to begin with an *'ayin*, not with *ghayin*. The Assyrian, Egyptian, south-Arabic, and Herodotean forms all point to an initial guttural letter, as well as the usual Greek transliterations. The forms *Azzati*, found in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and the Greek Ἄζα (evidently based on the current Hebrew pronunciation) alone bear out the Hebrew. Even in the Hebrew, where the double nature of the *'ayin* is well known, the tradition may not be supported.[15a] But these exceptions are overbalanced by the usual forms in their respective languages.

The meaning of the word "Gaza" must remain an open question, subject to further investigation. In one note in the "Onomastica Sacra" an old legend is reported which connected it with the word γάζα,[16] meaning "treasure," because treasure was buried at the place by (1) Zeus [17] or by (2) Cambyses on his way down to Egypt.[18] The lateness of this legend, however, is self-evident; and it must be regarded as a product of Oriental fancy rather than as an attempt to explain the name on scientific grounds.[19] An example of the unreliable and fanciful suggestions of the Arabs in such matters is the statement of Muhallibi abû Said,[20] who derived the name from *ghazza*, "to make a choice."

The gentilic of the town name is עַזָּתִי in Hebrew.[21] In

Greek it was Γαζαῖος[22]; and also Γαζῆνος, a form, however, which did not conform to Greek usage.[23] Stephen of Byzantium also warns against the use of "Gazan" as incorrect; but he gives Γαζίτης as the term used by the inhabitants themselves, with particular reference to the pottery made in the town. The form *Gazāta* is also used, according to Alexander Polyhistor.[24] In English, the forms *Gazite*[25] and *Gazathite*[26] are both found. The former is apparently from the Greek; the latter, from the Hebrew. Arrian[27] calls the inhabitants "Arabians"; and Herodotus[28] refers to them as "the Syrians of Palestine."

Certain other names are occasionally found in ancient records. The city is variously called Ἄζα[29] after Azon, the son of Hercules, one of the reputed founders of the city; *Minoa*, because Minos and his brothers Æacus and Rhadamanthus settled there;[30] and *Iona*, because Ius (Io) emigrated thither.[31] In later times the Arab Abû Mundir[32] calls it *Ghazzat Hâshim*, "the Gaza of Hâshim," because Hâshim, the grandfather of the Prophet, was buried there. He also connects the name with that of the wife of Ṣur, the founder of Tyre. The "Khalil-Daheri"[33] gives the place the supplementary designation Dehliz el-Mulk, "the threshold of the kingdom." The name of the city was often confused with that of Gazara[34] and occasionally with Azotus.[35] *Azotus* was the Greek form of *Ashdod*. The names *Azotus*, *Azon*, *Azzati*, etc., were sufficiently similar to cause this confusion.

Gaza is situated 31° 3′ N. lat. and 34° 28′ E. long. It is not on the coast; in fact, Askelon was the only one of the old Philistine cities which was immediately on the sea. It is the most southwesterly city in Palestine and about fifty miles west-southwest from Jerusalem. It is on the edge of the desert, and about eight days' march from the Delta. The city is now about three miles from the seacoast; which agrees with the account of Arrian,[36] who describes it as situated twenty furlongs from the sea at the time of its siege by Alexander. It was then situated on a high hill, as it is still to-day.[37] From

a number of passages found in the classical authors (cf. *infra*) it has frequently been urged that the site of the ancient city was different from that of the city of medieval and modern times. This view is no longer maintained as correct. The chief part of the modern city stands on a high tell, or mound, the edges of which show remains of walls, etc., of a very ancient character. The Roman city no doubt stretched to the sea, where to-day potsherds and other fragments are still to be seen.[38] The Greeks say that the soil about Gaza was soft and easy to work;[39] and that it therefore presented difficulties for the siege-machines, which sunk into it. The district immediately about the city has always been renowned for its great fertility, and travelers have praised, often immoderately, its fruits and other products. But from Gaza southward the land is barren and sandy, typically desert.

Although at various times of its history Gaza came under Egyptian rule, it was never reckoned as a part of Egypt, but rather as a city of Syria, Palestine, or Phœnicia. Geographically it fell naturally into the territory of Syria. Ptolemy[40] reckoned it as belonging to Judea; and Strabo[41] assigned it to Phœnicia. The latter says: "The one remaining part of the coast extending from Orthesia as far as Pelusium is called Phœnicia, a narrow strip of land along the sea . . . between Gaza and Antilibanus and towards the Arabians is called Judea." Herodotus[42] refers to Gaza as a city of the Syrians; but he does not give the geography of the district in detail. Stephen of Byzantium[43] calls it a Phœnician city, and says that in his day it belonged to Palestine, though it had formerly been a part of Egypt. Marcus Diaconus[44] (fourth century A.D.) states that it was in the see of Cæsarea; Sozomen[45] (sixth century A.D.), that it was in the territory of Maioumas.[46] Al-Mukaddasi[47] (tenth century A.D.) states that in his time it was in the district of Filastîn, one of the six districts into which the Moslems had divided Syria; but during the Crusades it was a fief of Arsouf.[48] Details of the various changes in rulership to which Gaza was subjected, involving its inclusion in different districts,

will be presented further on; sufficient has been said here to show that in accordance with its geographical position, the city was generally reckoned with Syria rather than with Egypt.

The port of Gaza, Maioumas, is only mentioned in the later classical sources:[49] but it no doubt existed from an early period, at least from the time when trade with Greece began to develop. According to Makrîzî,[50] "Maioumas" is an Egyptian word meaning "maritime place." Jerome arbitrarily identified Madmannah, mentioned in Joshua xv. 31, with Maioumas. Modern authorities have disagreed as regards the actual site of the maritime city. Gatt[51] claims that the port was situated on the site of the present harbor. This[52] is a rather insignificant bay in the low-lying sandy coast, marked out by a few rocks and some ancient masonry remains. It is now known as El-Mîneh (Arabic for "harbor"). Sandreczky[53] thinks it was at the mouth of the Wadi Gaza. The remains and general conditions bear out Gatt's contention. The harbor was included in the municipality for political and ecclesiastical purposes till the time of Constantine.[54] That emperor separated the two places, made Maioumas an independent city, and, on account of its warm espousal of the Christian cause and the conversion of its inhabitants, changed its name to Constantia in honor of his sister (331 A.D.). Made tributary by Julian the Apostate, it was restored to its independence upon his death.[55] As late as the time of Sozomen, the bishop of Gaza tried, but unsuccessfully, to assert his authority over the harbor city.[56] After its degradation by Julian it regained its old name of Maioumas.[57] In the Middle Ages, it was known as Tîda or Taida,[58] which name is an apparent shortening of Anthedon. The site of ancient Anthedon has not been positively established. There are several heaps of ruins in the neighborhood of Gaza which have been identified with this old city; but a tell somewhat to the north of Gaza known to the natives as Tîda,[59] seems, according to the facts of the case, to be the remains of Anthedon. I think it possible that Idrîsî, hearing the name Tîda connected with Gaza, and find-

ing no site with which he could associate it, gave it to the harbor city.

One of the interesting problems in connection with the history of the city is that of Old and New Gaza. Fortunately, the archæologist and the excavator have settled what had been a vexed question for centuries. They have decided that modern Gaza stands practically upon the site of the old town, the present elevation being due to the accumulation of débris through the centuries. The passage in Polybius[60] which has been interpreted to indicate the existence of a second Gaza, in Egypt between Rhinocolura and Barathra, is plainly an error of some scribe, by whom a sentence was misplaced.[61] The town conquered by Ptolemy Lagos in 312 B.C. is called by Diodorus[62] and Porphyry[63] "Old Gaza" (according to the Armenian version, "veterem Gazam"; in the Greek of Lyncellus, Παλαιγαζαμ). Strabo[64] states that Old Gaza was destroyed by Alexander, and that it has since lain waste; but here he has been misled, having copied his remark from an old geographer who knew nothing of New Gaza. The allusion in the Acts of the Apostles (viii. 26), "Arise, and go toward the south unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza: the same is desert," does not apply; for, if the whole passage be not considered a gloss of a later hand, the word *αὕτη* must be construed to refer to the road and not to the city. An explicit statement to the effect that there was a New Gaza appears in an anonymous geographical fragment[65] which reads as follows;

μετὰ τὰ Ρινοκόρουρα ἡ νέα Γάζα κεῖται πόλις οὖσα καὶ αὐτὴ εἶθ' ἡ ἔρημος Γάζα εἶτα ἡ Ἀσκάλων πόλις κ.τ.λ.

"After Rhinocolura lies the New Gaza, which is a city; then there is the 'Desert Gaza,' and then the city Askelon." Jerome[66] confirms this, saying: "The site of the ancient city is hardly visible; and the existing city, superseding that which was destroyed, has been built in another place." Now, if there ever was a New Gaza (in contradistinction to the Old Gaza), it must date from the time of the rebuilding of the city by

Gabinius (57 B.C.). Strabo is mistaken when he says that the city was entirely destroyed by Alexander the Great; for its final capture and destruction took place in the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. The rebuilt city might properly be referred to as "New Gaza" without implying a different site; for abundant proofs are forthcoming from other excavations showing several rebuildings on the old site to which the people clung most tenaciously.[67] The fact that no trace of the site of the old city was to be seen in Eusebius' time only shows that the superimposition was complete. The "New Gaza" of the anonymous geographer cited above may therefore be dismissed as being a literary creation rather than a historical fact.

The passage in Acts (viii. 26), already referred to, calls for some discussion. It is entirely out of the question to refer the ἔρημος to the city, for at the presumable date of the passage, *circa* 34 A.D., Gaza was not destroyed; and to refer it to a later date, 65–66, when the city was ravaged by the Jews (cf. *infra*), would force the text. Further, the city was surely rebuilt at the time the passage was written.[68] Besides, the language itself suggests that the adjective refers to the road rather than to the city.[69] It may have been the idea of the author to indicate that the evangelist was to take the road which led through the desert, and which metaphorically might itself be called "desert." Those who wish to adhere strictly to the written word adopt this interpretation;[70] but the construction of this troublesome passage as a later gloss seems to solve the problem

The evidence, both positive and negative, in favor of the view that the modern town stands on the site of the ancient Gaza is overwhelming. There are no other ruins in the neighborhood which would indicate the existence of so large a city; the location of the modern town corresponds almost exactly with that assigned to the old city, namely, that it was situated on a hill, at about twenty stadia (three miles) from the sea; the discovery of ancient masonry in the present tell, the height

of the existing mound itself, the well-known Oriental custom of rebuilding cities on their former sites, — all these indicate that the site of the Gaza of to-day is that of the ancient city and has been so throughout successive ages.

[1] Cf. Six, *Observations sur les monnaies phéniciennes*, Numismatic Chronicle, new series, vol. xvii., 1877, pp. 221–239, nos. 9, 12, 33. [2] W. Max Mueller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 87. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 96. [4] Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, iii. 10, nos. 2, 20. [5] Sargon's *Cylinder Inscription*, l. 19 (*K.B.*, ii. 42); *Khorsabad Inscription*, ll. 25, 26 (*K.B.*, ii. 54). [6] Sennacherib, *Prism Inscription*, col. iii. l. 26 (*K.B.*, ii. 94). [7] Rawlinson, iii. 10, nos. 2, 19. [8] *Thontafelinschrift Tiglathpileser*, iii. l. 62. [9] Conder, *Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, p. 115; Winckler, p. 38. [10] Cf. *Z.D.M.G.*, 1905, lix. pt. 2, p. 452. [11] Ed. Amsterdam, 1678. [12] Cf. also עמרה, Γομορρα (*passim*); עיבל, Γαιβαλ; עית (Gen. xxxvi. 15; 1 Chr. i. 46), Γεθθαμ; עותי (1 Chr. ix. 4), Γωθει; עירד (Gen. iv. 18), Γαιδαδ; עלוה (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chr. i. 51), Γωλα, etc. Sometimes the same word is transliterated both with and withou the *gamma*; *e.g.* עפרה (Josh. xviii. 23), Ἀφαρ; 1 Sam. xiii. 7, Γωφερα; מערת (Josh. xv. 59), Μαγαρωθ; A, G L, Μα(α)ρωθ. [13] Ed. de Lagarde, 22, 18. [14] Ed. Rawlinson, 2,159; 3, 3. [15] p. 6, l. 27; 22, 24; 32, 23; 51, 24; 57, 30; 69, 13. [15a] It is interesting here to note that the Hebrew עפר, dust, is rendered *Ḥaparu* in the Canaanite glosses of the Tell el-Amarna tablets; *epru* in Assyrian. It seems possible, then, that *Azzati* may be a pure Assyrian form, whereas the more usual *Ḥazzati* may be the Canaanite. [16] p. 57, 30. [17] Steph. Byz., *s.v.* [18] Pomponius Mela, 1, 11; also Steph. Byz. [19] *Z.D.M.G.*, 1905, lix., pt. 2, pp. 452, 718. A word גזא (= גנזא) is found in late Hebrew (cf. *Sabb.* 63[a], *Yoma* 51[a], *Hor.* 9[a], etc.), which means "treasure"; and the word γαζα with the same meaning is found in Greek. This latter is a loan-word, probably from the Persian, whence, no doubt, the Hebrew word also came. Cf. Liddell and Scott, *Greek Lexicon*, s.v. [20] Yakut, ed. Wuestenfeld, iii. 799. [21] Josh. xiii. 3; xvi. 2. [22] Steph. Byz., *s.v.;* Strabo, 16, 11, 30; Alexander Polyhistor, 98–102. [23] *Ibid.* [24] *Loc. cit.* [25] Jdg. xvi. 2. [26] Josh. xiii. 3. [27] *Expedition of Alexander the Great*, ii. 27. [28] iii. 5. [29] Steph. Byz., *s.v.* [30] *Ibid.* [31] *Ibid.* [32] Yakut, *loc. cit.* [33] A historical compendium, cited by Quatremére, Makrizi, *History of the Mamluke Sultans*, in an appendix on the *City of Gaza*. [34] 1 Macc. iv. 13; xiii. 43–58, where read "Gazara" for "Gaza"; cf. too the medieval travelers, Brocardus, Theodoric, Fabri, *et al.* [35] 1 Macc. iv. 13, Syriac version. [36] *Op. cit.*, ii. 26. [37] Arrian, *loc. cit.;* also, moderns, *e.g.* Baedeker, Palestine and Syria, *s.v.* [38] *M.D.O.G.*, September, 1904, no. 23, p. 49; cf. *infra*, on the New and the Old Gaza. [39] Q. Curtius Rufus, *De Gestis Alexandri Magni*, iv. 26. [40] *Geographia*, v. 16. [41] xvi. 2, 21. [42] iii. 5. [43] *S.v.* [44] *Vita Porphyrii*, c. 12. [45] *Ecclesiastical History*, 7, 29. [46] Cf. *infra*. [47] *Description of Syria*

including Palestine, translated by Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society*, p. 11. [48] Conder, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 79. [49] Strabo, *loc. cit.;* Ptolemy, 5, 16, 2. Γαζαίων λιμήν. [50] *Op. cit.* Prof. W. Max Mueller informs me that "Maiumas" is a Semitic word. The word ים, "yam," has penetrated into Egyptian; but there is no Egyptian word *ma* "water" (stat. constr. MOY). MA means "place"; but he queries as to how this Coptic word got into this place name. [51] *D.Z.P.V.*, vii. 1–14, 1884. [52] *Die Welt*, 1906, no. 31, pp. 8, 9. [53] *Z.D.P.V., loc. cit.* [54] Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4, 38. [55] Sozomen, *op. cit.*, 11, 3. [56] *Ibid.* [57] *Marc. Diac.*, c. 57. [58] *Idrîsî*, quoted by Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems.* [59] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., 1884, pp. 5–7, where Gatt states that the ruins of El-Blachiyya, one league northwest to Gaza, were also called Tida by the natives. Cf., too, Schuerer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, ii. i. 72, n. 69[a]. [60] 5, 89. [61] Stark, *Gaza und die Philistaeische Kueste*, pp. 382 *sqq.* [62] 19, 80. [63] Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schoene, 1, col. 249, 250. [64] 16, 2, 30. [65] Printed in the appendix of Hudson's *Dionysus Periegetes*, Geographiæ Vet. Scriptores Græci Minores. iv. p. 39. [66] *Onomastica*, p. 125. [67] Cf. Tell el-Ḥesy, Tell el-Jezer, Jerusalem; and in classical fields, Troy, and other sites too numerous to mention. [68] Cf. Encyclopedia Biblica, *s.v.* Acts of the Apostles, § 16, which assigns this book to 110–130 A.D. It was shortly after this date that Hadrian visited Gaza and instituted games there. [69] Cf. the construction in Acts ix. 11; 2 Sam. ii. 24. [70] Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 509–513.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION

The first mention of the "Philistine" cities on the monuments gives no information as to the origins of their inhabitants. Hebrew tradition [1] relates that the 'Avvim [2] settled "in open villages as far as Gaza," but affords no assistance in the identification of these people. The Septuagint occasionally confuses them with the Hivvi; [3] but without apparent reason, inasmuch as the Masoretic Text speaks of the latter in the singular, and of the 'Avvim in the plural form. The latter were probably the aboriginal inhabitants of the south-Palestinian coast cities, who had made some advance toward the stage of permanent settlements. The 'Anakim (ענקים),[4] who are said to have remained in Gaza, Ashdod, and Gath after the exploits of Joshua, are doubtless the Philistines themselves. The Deuteronomic author uses this term like Repha'im to refer to the unconquered remnants of the Canaanites.[5]

Extensive remains have been found in central and southern Arabia, which have been ascribed to a people called the Minæans. Edward Glaser [6] maintains that this people existed from about the seventeenth century B.C.: and that the Sabaeans followed them in the occupancy of these regions. Opponents [7] of Glaser contend that, if the Sabaeans did not precede, they were at any rate contemporary with the Minaeans. We are impressed by the facts that Glaser has adduced, and hold with him that the Minaeans preceded the Sabaeans. If this, then, be allowed, it seems to follow that Gaza was founded, or at least augmented, by this early Arabian people. Glaser assigns the first half of the second millennium B.C. (about 1700)

as the probable date of the Minæan kingdom. Now, if Gaza was not founded till then, there would be time for its development into the important post which it seems to have been in the time of Tahutimes III. (1538-1484). The wealth of the Minæan kingdom was derived chiefly from the transportation of frankincense and other spices from the East, and from southern Arabia, which the caravans carried through the desert to Gaza. Thence they were distributed to the Mediterranean peoples; and the favorable position of the city as the western terminus of the caravan route must in those early times have tended more than anything else to its development. The association of the Minæans with the place, as attested by several inscriptions [8] in which the name of Gaza appears, was intimate and of long standing. The later legends concerning Gaza as reported by Stephen of Byzantium,[9] who attributed the foundation of the city to Zeus, to Io, to Azon, the son of Hercules, and to Minos, show that the knowledge of its actual settlers had been lost even in early times. Stark [10] very properly sees in the Minos legend a confusion of the name of the Minæans with that of the hero. No doubt, too, these legends represent the syncretizing tendency of later Roman times when, for the greater glory of Greece and its cultures, all of the primitive world was brought into relations with the gods and heroes of Hellas.

In the tenth chapter of Genesis (v. 14) Misraim is mentioned as the proprietor (begetter) of the Philistines; but this proves nothing more than that at the author's time — probably with reference to the invasion of Sheshonk — Philistia owed allegiance to Egypt. Josephus [11] merely repeats the Genesis account. About the year 1200 B.C., the Philistines made their appearance in Syrian and Palestinian history.[12] They advanced from the north, where they had subdued the Hittites and the native tribes, but were repulsed by the Egyptians under Rameses III. and compelled to withdraw into northern Syria. After the lapse of a few years, when that monarch no longer undertook warlike expeditions against his enemies, and decay had

crept into the Egyptian kingdom, the Philistines and their allies advanced again and established themselves along the maritime plain of Palestine. They conquered the cities from Carmel to Gaza, and maintained themselves as a foreign colony in the midst of the remnants of the original inhabitants. They gradually assumed the customs, language, and religion of their helots and became Semitized in everything except government and racial affinities. They were not a Semitic people, as is proved by their pictures on the monuments [13] and by the fact that they did not practise the rite of circumcision. They are constantly referred to in the Bible as uncircumcised.[14] The scant and doubtful remains of their language afford no information on this point.[15]

The Philistines maintained themselves among the aborigines as a separate entity, and withstood the incursions of the Israelites only as long as their political and military power remained unbroken. When this was impaired by the people of Misraim [16] (=Musri [?], a north-Arabian tribe) about the time of David and Solomon, they soon lost their identity and became merged in the native Semites, not, however, without leaving definite traces of their influence upon the general population which absorbed them. During the period of the later kings in Judah and Israel constant references are found to the Arabs along with the Philistines.[17] This points to a process of Arabization which must have been very thorough; for, by the time of Alexander the Great, the troops which defended the city were called "Arabians." [18]

After the conquest by Alexander and the introduction of Hellenism, the people of Gaza and the other Philistine cities took up the new culture with the same intensity with which the Philistines had assumed the Semitic. The first Greeks to enter Philistia were probably the mercenaries who fought under Pharaoh Necho; [19] and, during the so-called Persian period, there is evidence of a brisk intercourse between Gaza and Greece.[20] Gaza became the seat of a thriving Hellenistic civilization. At this time, the city grew more cosmopolitan;

as no doubt there were constant additions to its population of Greeks from Hellas and from the colonies in Asia Minor. Doubtless Phœnicians, too, were familiar characters in its markets; and Jews also resorted to its fairs.[21] At a later time Romans were added to this conglomerate; and Arab traders and Bedouins of the desert are known to have frequented the place. Egyptians must always have been an important element in its population. As the introduction of Christianity brought no new element into the population, it need not be dwelt upon here. The Moslem conquest continued the process of Arabization, which had long been in operation.[22] If it is true that the Minæans were the founders of the city, this would be the third time that the city became Arabian. The introduction of an Arabian colony into the city to further the interests of Islam and Mohammedan culture, transformed one of the most intensely Hellenistic cities of the old world into a thoroughly Arabian one. The Samaritans settled in Gaza early, and maintained themselves as a separate community till the modern period. The successive occupations of the city in medieval times by Crusaders, Mongols, Turks, etc., have undoubtedly left their traces upon the inhabitants. Gaza has thus always been a cosmopolitan place. To-day the inhabitants are decidedly Arabian in character and culture, though pronounced Egyptian influences are observable.

[1] Dt. ii. 23. [2] The aboriginal inhabitants of the Philistine coast who were driven out by the Caphtorim. [3] Dt. ii. 23; Josh. xiii. 4. [4] Josh. xi, 22; Sayce (*Races of the Old Testament*, p. 115) thinks they were the remnants of the old Amorite invaders. [5] *E.B.*, s.v. *Anakim*. [6] *Skizze d. Geschichte Arabiens*, ch. 3, p. 53. According to this authority, the *M'eunim* of 1 Chr. iv. 41 are the remnants of the Minæans, who at one time possessed all the land from Hadhramaut to the vicinity of Gaza at a very early date. [7] D. H. Mueller, *Die Burgen und Schloesser Sued-Arabiens; Denkmaeler aus Arabien; Sued-Arabische Alterthuemer;* Mordtmann, *Beitraege zur Minaeischen Epigraphik;* Hartmann in the *Z.A.*, x., 1895. [8] Gl. 1083. [9] *S.v.* [10] *Op. cit.*, pp. 580 *sqq.* [11] *Antiquities*, i. 6, 2. [12] Paton, *Early History of Palestine and Syria*, ch. 8. [13] Sayce, *op. cit.*, sub *Philistines;* also *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii., 1888, pp. 206 *sqq.* [14] Jdg. xiv. 13; xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; xvii. 26 and 36; 2 Sam. i. 20; *et al.* [15] For

a discussion of the origin of the Philistines and a more detailed account of them, see below, ch. 3. [16] Schrader (*Z.A.*, 1874, p. 53) and, after him, Winckler suggested that the Misraim of the MT. need not necessarily always refer to Egypt, but that there were a north-Syrian and a north-Arabian Musur, which are frequently referred to in the inscriptions. [17] 2 Chr. xvii 11; xxi. 18; xxvi. 7. [18] Arrian ii. 26 *sqq.;* Q. R. Curtius, iv. 26; Jos., *Ant.,* xi. 8, 3. [19] Herod. ii. 152 *sqq.;* 2 K. xxiii. 29–xxiv. 7; Jer. xlvii. 1. [20] Cf. use of Athenian coins for local use. Cf. *infra,* ch. on Coins. [21] *Ab. Zar.* 11^{b}, where the question is discussed whether it is allowable for Jews to frequent its markets, because of the idolatry of its inhabitants. [22] Cf. *infra.*

CHAPTER III

PERIOD OF FOREIGN DOMINATION

3500–1200 B.C.

The beginnings of history in Syria and Palestine may be placed in the fourth millennium before the Christian era; for, dating from about 3500 and onwards, there are found in the oldest Babylonian records scattered notices of the land of Martu,[1] which has been identified with Syria and more particularly with its northern part. As regards Palestine proper no evidence is forthcoming that during the old Babylonian supremacy (3200–2500 B.C.) it was in the power of the kings of Babylon. Still, though no name which can be identified with this region occurs on the monuments, the presumption is strong that during this period Palestine was included in the fate of its larger neighbor on the north, Syria.

In the next period (2500–2230 B.C.), during which the people known as the Amorites[2] spread over Palestine and Syria, and even to Babylon and Egypt,[3] there are no traces of the Philistines, who later became so thoroughly associated with the territory as to give their name to it. Nor are there any traces of Egyptian domination in Palestine: the country took its culture and political coloring from Babylon; and for the next several hundred years the west was in the possession of the Babylonian kings.

This period was followed by the incursion of the Hyksos,[4] Semitic nomads who, having established their base in southern Palestine, entered and occupied Egypt. We should expect that their relationship would have enabled the Hyksos to gain a firm foothold in Palestine; but during their reigns Egypt

made no advance in this direction. It was at this time, about the middle of the second millennium B.C., that the Minæan kingdom, whose remains Halevy [5] and Glaser [6] have discovered in central Arabia, was in its most flourishing condition. Although the date of this kingdom is still a subject of discussion, the views of Glaser [7] and Weber [8] seem to be well grounded. The foundation of Gaza is most probably to be associated with the Minæans in their development of the frankincense trade. Thus another argument is added to the already cogent ones for the priority of the Minæan over the Sabæan kingdom. This was the period, too, of the decline of the old Babylonian kingdom, the rise of the old Assyrian empire, and the prosperity of the Egyptians under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

The struggle for freedom from the yoke of the Hyksos dynasty had inured the Egyptians to the usages of war, and had overcome their fear of the Asiatics. They expelled these foreign rulers, who took refuge at Sharuhen,[9] in the southern part of Palestine, with their kinsmen whom they had left there on their way down to Egypt. The defeat inflicted upon them was so severe as to break their power completely, and to render impossible the reëstablishment of their rule in Egypt.

The ruler who succeeded in thus defeating them, Aahmes, made no attempt at a permanent establishment of Egyptian rule in Palestine; nor is there any record that his successor, Amenhotep, I. (*c.* 1553 B.C.), led any expedition into Palestine. Yet the fact that the latter's successor, Tahutimes I. (*c.* 1544 B.C.), claimed this region, and regarded its inhabitants as rebels, makes it likely either that Amenhotep did conduct such a campaign or that the victories of Aahmes were far-reaching enough to make this territory tributary to Egypt. Tahutimes I., finding that the people of Syria and Palestine (Ruten on the monuments) were in rebellion against him, invaded the country, subdued the rebellion, and penetrated even as far as the Euphrates.

Tahutimes III., on his accession to sole authority in Egypt (he had shared the throne with his sister),[10] found the whole

of northern Palestine and Syria in revolt. Southern Palestine remained loyal. Tahutimes marched against the rebels by way of Gaza, where he celebrated by a banquet the twenty-third anniversary of his accession to the throne.[11] This is the first mention of Gaza found on the monuments. That it was already then a flourishing city is evident from its selection by Tahutimes as the base of his Syrian campaigns. He assembled his army at Gaza, and he set out thence on his victorious campaign. This monarch made, in all, fourteen campaigns into Syria, spending almost every summer in the Syrian territory. The rule of the Egyptian was hard to bear. Tribute was exacted with the most rigid severity in return for the protection of the suzerain. The frequency with which expeditions into Syria had to be made shows how unpopular the Egyptian rule really was. Hardly had Tahutimes died, when the Syrian provinces revolted, and his son, Amenhotep II., was compelled, at the very beginning of his reign, to undertake an expedition against the rebels. His success was so great that nothing is heard of any further uprisings during his reign. His successor, Tahutimes IV. (*c.* 1436 B.C.), led an expedition against Naharina (the *Aram Naharayim* of the Bible), which seems to have been successful.

It was during the reign of his son, Amenhotep III., a most peaceful and prosperous period, that the first of the famous *Tell el-Amarna* letters was written. These letters, three hundred in all, were found in Egypt at Tell el-Amarna, the site of the capital of Amenhotep IV. They were written in cuneiform and were sent by the kings of various Asiatic countries and by Egyptian vassals or officials in Palestine and Syria to the king of Egypt. They show that the language of international diplomacy was Babylonian, due no doubt to the long continuance of Babylonian domination in the west. Though most of them were addressed to his son, Amenhotep IV., several name the father; and it is likely that many of the anonymous ones, written before the decline of Egyptian rule, were addressed to the older sovereign.

Of this large mass of correspondence, the letter of Yabriti of Gaza and Jaffa is of most interest, as bearing upon the early history of this monograph. The general conditions presented in the letters hold equally true of Gaza as of the other cities. This chief Yabriti, a Palestinian by birth, was brought to Egypt as a youth by one Yankhama and reared there under the influence of Egyptian customs and ideas.[12] Thus the future rulers of their dependencies were trained in a thoroughly Egyptian atmosphere. Yabriti was educated in the army, and was gradually advanced till he was made chief of the two cities in question. This would seem to indicate that there was no regular succession in the rulership, but that the Egyptian monarch designated for the position men selected from the natives who had been trained in Egypt. In various cities, however, different usages obtained. Besides designated rulers, like Yabriti, hereditary chiefs, female rulers, elective chiefs, and municipal government are found.[13] In this letter (cf. *supra*) Yabriti informs his master that he is zealously guarding the cities intrusted to his care. Several fragments deal with the relations of Addu-Mikhir of Gaza and his suzerain. Addu-Mikhir does obeisance[14] to the king and states that the city is secure and loyal:[15] Abdkhiba of Jerusalem bewails to his king[16] the fact that all the country to the south and west of Jerusalem, including Gaza, has been taken by the Khabiri; he complains that the garrison sent by Khaya, the Egyptian commissioner, has been taken by Addu-Mikhir to Gaza; and therefore threatens to surrender his city. From this it would appear that the Egyptian, realizing the importance of Gaza, had allowed the forces intended for the relief of Jerusalem to be diverted to its defense, though with but little success, according to the text of this letter. After the loss of Gaza, notwithstanding the aid of his purloined forces, Addu-Mikhir seems to have left Gaza and become an enemy of the king; for in another letter,[17] one Biridiya, a native prince who wished to ingratiate himself with the Egyptians, charges another, named Zurata, with allowing Addu-Mikhir to escape.

Abdkhiba writes again of further encroachments of the invaders, and mentions that Puuru is at Gaza.[18] Puuru had been the Egyptian commissioner in northern Palestine, and, after its loss to Egypt, was sent south. The Khabiri did not gain more than a temporary footing in the city. The Khabiri were an Aramaean tribe, who invaded Palestine about the time of the writing of these letters. They were no doubt related to the Hebrews in the wider sense of the word, though it is not likely that they were Israelites, as the Exodus did not take place as early as this; and the record of the operations of the Khabiri does not tally with that of the Israelites when they entered Palestine.[19]

The death of Amenhotep III. had seen the beginning of the decay of Egyptian domination in Palestine and Syria; the religious contentions under Amenhotep IV. had weakened Egypt at home and abroad; and the invasion of the Hittites and the Khabiri in the fourteenth century introduced a new element of confusion into native politics, and further weakened Egyptian rule. Instead of bringing the full force of the Egyptian army to bear upon these warlike intruders, the king satisfied himself with sending mere companies for punitive purposes, or intrusted this duty to the few friendly chiefs who remained in the land; consequently Palestine fell into the hands of the Khabiri and the Bedouin. Under the rule of the usurper, Horemheb (*c.* 1370 B.C.), the tenure of Egypt in Palestine was hardly more than nominal; yet in this vigorous reign she was regaining internal strength for the reconquest of her lost provinces.

Under the strenuous rule of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, Egypt regained what she had lost. Seti I. fell upon the Bedouins who had established themselves in southern Palestine, captured their strongholds, slew large numbers of them, took many captive, and drove the others back into the desert. Egyptian supremacy was thus restored in the south of Palestine, which once more paid tribute to the kings of Egypt. Seti's ultimate object was to drive the Hittites

out of Syria also; but he found them too strong for him. He therefore retired, and contented himself with erecting forts at Megiddo, Gaza, and other places.[20] It was left to his son, Rameses II. (1340–1273 B.C.), to restore Egyptian prestige in Syria, and to make the whole land once more Egyptian territory. His brilliant exploits against the Hittites, though scarcely germane to this account, cannot pass entirely unmentioned; for it was by defeating these arch foes that Egypt was once more restored to its former splendid state. In the second and fourth years of his reign Rameses advanced through Palestine and Syria; reëstablished Egyptian authority there; and later he found his long-desired opportunity to try conclusions with the Hittites, with what success is known. Gaza is found mentioned in the inscriptions of this monarch, upon the walls of the temple at Karnak,[21] as one of the cities which he captured during his Asiatic campaigns. In the reign of Merneptah another brief mention occurs; it is in the diary of a frontier officer,[22] in which it is related that "a servant of Ba'al-r(e)-ti-y, the son of Ṣa-pu-ira of Ga-ṣa-y," carried two letters to Palestine. Professor W. Max Mueller, who has supplied me with this reference, suggests that the "y" in "Ga-ṣa-y" is a copyist's error for "ti." It is possible that Ba'al-r(e)-ti-y, like Yabriti, was a Palestinian carried to Egypt and there trained for the Egyptian diplomatic service.[23]

The exodus of the Israelites occurred, no doubt, in the period immediately following the death of Merneptah, a time of great confusion, during which in the course of less than twenty years four kings reigned in rapid succession (Seti II., Amenmessu, Siptah, and Arisu). This was naturally a period in which a captive people, seeing the internal weakness of the kingdom, might shake themselves free from the Egyptians and betake themselves to the desert without much fear of molestation. Order was restored out of the confusion by Setnekht, the founder of the twentieth dynasty, who was followed, after a brief reign, by his son, Rameses III. The latter represents himself on the inscriptions as the veritable restorer of the empire of his great

namesake, Rameses II. (*c.* 1204 B.C.). He mentions the names of the various cities which he fictitiously conquered, among them being Gaza.[24] It was during his reign that the Philistines entered Palestine. Among the "Sea People," mentioned in the records of this reign, who sought a new home in Syria were the Shakalsa, the Danauna (= Danaoi?), the Zakkala, the Washasha, and the Purasate or Pulasate.[25] The last-named are doubtless identical with the Philistines of the Bible, whose origin, as well as their position and power in Palestine, may here be briefly discussed.

According to the Biblical account, our chief authority, the Philistines were not a native people.[26] Hebrew tradition is constant in declaring that they emigrated from Caphtor,[27] whatever land that may be. The representations upon the Egyptian monuments of the inhabitants of the so-called Philistine cities, portray a different race from those of the other cities of Palestine.[28] They are fairer in complexion than and otherwise different in physiognomy from the Semitic peoples of Palestine and Phœnicia, resembling in general those races called European.[29] Their armor, too, is of a Western type.[30] The Biblical account states that the Caphtorim dispossessed the 'Avvim,[31] the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, "as far as Gaza." The Caphtorim and the Philistines are no doubt identical.[32] The Philistines are constantly referred to in the Bible as "uncircumcised,"[33] which shows that they were the only one of the peoples with whom the Israelites came in contact who did not practise that rite. Unfortunately, no remains of their language have come down. The few Bible names which are supposed to be Philistine, such as Achish,[34] Phichol,[35] Maoch,[36] Ittai,[37] and Goliath,[38] tell little or nothing of their origin. The Egyptian and Assyrian records are silent, giving no personal names, and using the Semitic town-names. The one title סֶרֶן,[39] probably a word of their own language, suggests affinities with the Greek τύραννος, by which word *seren* is rendered in the Targum and the Peshiṭta. That the Philistines were not Semites seems well established.

But where was Caphtor? The generally accepted interpretation of the name is *Crete;* and this is borne out by several considerations. There was a people in southern Palestine called כרתים,[40] who, if not identical with the Philistines, were closely related to them. David's body-guard is known to have consisted of Cherethim and Pelethim;[41] and there is no reason for thinking that the former of these are different people from the south-Palestinian tribe just referred to. And in Jer. xlvii. 4, the Philistines are spoken of as the "remnant of the isle of Caphtor." "Pelethim" is probably a form of "Pelishtim," employed to correspond with "Cherethim." It is known also that David was on terms of more or less intimacy with the Philistines;[42] and they, being fond of fighting, would be the probable source of mercenaries for the Judean ruler. This seems then to identify the Philistines and the Cretans; indeed, in this sense the Septuagint interprets the Zephaniah (ii. 5) and Ezekiel (xxv. 16) passages. Moreover, the later legends which connect Crete with Gaza lend semblance to this theory.

Others[43] think that Caphtor was the southern coast of Asia Minor, for KEFTÔ is the name on the Egyptian monuments for the western part of Asia Minor as early as Tahutimes III. Indeed, W. Max Mueller finds *K(a)ptar* in an Egyptian inscription of a recent period, a copy of an old geographical list, enumerated among a number of Asiatic nations.[44] Besides, the migrations of the Moschi, the Phrygians, the Dorians, and other Aryan tribes at this time from their ancestral homes into Asia Minor would give a reason for the emigration of the Purasate and others at the period when we find them mentioned on the monuments for the first time. This theory does not account for the final "r" in the Hebraized form of the name. Eusebius in his "Onomastica"[45] connects these newcomers with Cappadocia; W. Max Mueller thinks Lycia or Caria was the original home of the Philistines;[46] while the Encyclopedia Biblica decides for Cilicia.[47] In view of the elastic meaning of the Hebrew אי, "coastland" or "island," I am

inclined to hold that while part of the Philistines undoubtedly came from the island of Crete (the testimony for this identification is too strong to be brushed aside), other elements came from the coastlands of Asia Minor. It would not be difficult to suppose that the Hebrew writers confused the name of the island with that of the coastland, or *vice versa*, as their knowledge of Philistine traditions was apparently very meager. Or, on the other hand, we may suppose that the name of the near-lying island was later transferred to the opposing coastland, or *vice versa*. The close relations between Crete and the mainland are now so well known and demonstrated that we need feel no surprise in thus finding two parts of the same people inhabiting these two contiguous pieces of land.

A third theory identifies Caphtor with the Egyptian Kaft-ur, "Great Kaft," greater Phœnicia, like Magna Græcia. Ebers,[48] who is the chief exponent of this theory (supported by Sayce),[49] states that Kaft was the name given to the Phœnician colonies of the Delta, and later to Phœnicians and Phœnicia — a "Magna Phœnicia." However, on Egyptological grounds, there is no justification for this theory. The statement that the Caphtorim are "sons of Egypt"[50] merely shows that at the time of the writing of the chapters, Philistia was subject to Egypt (under Sheshonk?). Toward the solution of this problem much assistance may be looked for in further Egyptological discoveries and in the decipherment and interpretation of the new-found Cretan inscriptions.

The Philistines were hardly settled in the land before the Israelite invasion, notwithstanding Ex. xv. 14, which can hardly be held to be an early document, as many are inclined to claim. That they were not in Palestine at the time of the Tell el-Amarna letters is an established fact. When, then, did they enter the land? The formation of the Israelitish kingdom was directly due to the pressure which the Philistines were exerting upon the tribes.[51] A full generation before this time the Samson cycle shows the Philistines in possession of the Maritime Plain and exercising a more or less severe rule over Judah. It has

been suggested that the migration of the Danites [52] was caused either directly or indirectly by the Philistine conquests. Now the Philistines must have entered Palestine between these two dates; and none fits the facts of the case better than the reign of Rameses III.

References to the Philistines in Palestine before this time must be considered anachronisms, due to a lack of historical knowledge on the part of the writer. The reference to them in Gen. xxvi. 21 merely shows that the territory in which Gerar was situated belonged to the Philistines at the time of the author or at the time when these narratives first began to circulate. Similarly, Ex. xiii. 17 and Josh. xiii. 3 are not proofs of the settlement of the Philistines at that date, but merely a mode of expression adopted by the author in whose time the conditions in question actually existed.

The migration of the Philistines was either the removal of a whole people — they are represented on the monuments as moving in ox-vans with their families — or the forward movement of a body of mercenaries who had served under the Hittites, and, having discovered the weakness of the Egyptians, pressed on into their territory. They advanced from the north, leaving no traces behind of their occupation of the territory of the Hittites, whose kingdom they seem to have disintegrated by their victories. In the early years of the reign of Rameses III. they were established in the northern part of Palestine, near the Lebanon. Later, at the height of their power, they and their allies in the course of their advance controlled the whole coast from Carmel to Egypt. The Sakkala (variously spelled Takkara, Zakkala) held the northern part; but the Philistines pressed onward and occupied the south. The Cherethites occupied territory a little to the south and inland, in what was known as the Negeb. This was no doubt the disposition of the invaders when the Greeks first became acquainted with the land. They must have been the most important of its inhabitants; for from the name of the Philistines, the Greek name of the land Παλαιστίνη was derived. Eventually the Philistines were confined

to their five cities, Gaza, Ekron, Ashdod, Gath, and Askelon, known as the Pentapolis. In the process of time they became more and more Semitized, adopting the language, religion, and customs of the conquered. They were great warriors, having an organized army[53] with chariots,[54] and boasting of the superior excellence of their bowmen.[55] Politically they were gathered in a loose confederation, each city maintaining its autonomy. The ruler of the city was called Seren.[56] No one city enjoyed any hegemony over the others, though Ashdod[57] seems to have been the oldest and the most important.

Rameses administered a severe defeat to the "Sea People" somewhere along the Phœnician coast, both on land and on sea; and before his arms they were compelled to retreat into northern Syria. He did not, however, pursue them. The limits of Egyptian territory were now the same as they had been under Rameses II. at the conclusion of peace with the Hittites. The rest of the reign of Rameses III. was peaceful; but even under his rule Egyptian power began to decline; and the final settlement of the Philistines in Palestine took place no doubt in these later inactive years. From this time onward Egyptian rule in Asia was at an end, the Pharaohs being occupied with home affairs. Syria and Palestine were left in peace by the great powers from 1200 to 876 B.C. This enabled the indigenous peoples to settle their quarrels between themselves and to develop according to their own ideas and institutions.

[1] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 15, 16. [2] A Semitic people who occupied the greater part of the west-Jordan land before the Israelitish invasion. Amos (ii. 9) uses the word, as does the Elohist, to designate all the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan. According to Gen. x. 16, they were descended from Canaan; but this would indicate little more than that the Israelites looked upon them as they did upon all the inhabitants of Canaan, as inferior peoples with whom they were unwilling to claim kinship. The land and people of Amur are referred to frequently in both the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions; but, as W. Max Mueller points out in his article in the Jewish Encyclopedia (*s.v.*), it is difficult to establish the connection between the Biblical Amorites and those of the monuments. Petrie (*Racial Types from the Egyptian Monuments*) identifies them with a blond non-Semitic people; but in the present confused and incomplete state of our information, it

is virtually impossible to enter upon any further speculations as to their origin, etc. [3] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 *sqq.* [4] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 66 *sqq.* On the other hand, W. Max Mueller thinks that they were non-Semitic (*J.E.*, v. p. 56; *E.B.*, s.v. *Egypt*). But the generally accepted opinion is and has been that upheld by Paton. As early as Josephus (*Contra Apionem* i. 14), the Hyksos were associated with the Semitic world. [5] *Études sabéenes.* [6] *Opera citata.* [7] Cf. *supra.* [8] *Studien in Sued-Arabischen Alterthumskunde.* [9] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 67, 72 (where the inscription of Aahmes, the admiral, found in his tomb at El-Kab, is quoted *in extenso.* Cf., too, Renouf, *Records of the Past*, vi. p. 5). [10] Some hold it was his aunt; but as above, Paton, p. 77. [11] Cf. Birch, *Records of the Past*, ii. pp. 17–65. [12] Winckler, 214, which reads as follows: —

"To the King, my Lord, my gods, my sun: Yabriti, thy servant, the dust of thy feet; at the feet of the King, my Lord, my gods, my sun, seven times seven times, do I prostrate myself. Furthermore, behold I am a faithful servant of the King, my Lord. I look hither and thither, but there is no light; a brick under my feet may yield, but I shall never yield while under the feet of the King, my Lord. Let the King, my Lord, ask Yanhama, his officer. When I was a child, he brought me to Egypt, and I served the King, my Lord, and stood at the gate of the King, my Lord. Let the King ask his officers how I guard the gate of Gaza and the gate of Jaffa. I am also with the troops of the King, my Lord. Wherever they go, I am with them; therefore I am with them now. The yoke of the King, my Lord, is upon my neck, and I carry it." [13] Peters, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el-Amarna Letters*, pp. 137–138. [14] Winckler, 187. [15] *Ibid.*, 188. [16] *Ibid.*, 185. [17] *Ibid.*, 196. [18] *Ibid.*, 182. [19] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 114. [20] Paton, *op. cit.*, pp. 125 *sqq.* [21] Birch, *Records of the Past*, pt. vi. p. 27. [22] Communicated by Prof. W. Max Mueller to the author; found in *Anast.* 3, 6, rev. 1. [23] Does the element *Ba'al* in the name point to a local Baal cult? See below on Cults and Deities. [24] Birch, *op. cit.*, pt. vi. p. 41. [25] For the change of "r" and "l," cf. the modern El-Farama, for the older Pelusium. Cf. *J.A.I.*, xviii., 1888, pp. 206 *sqq.* [26] Gen. x. 14; Dt. ii. 23; Amos ix. 7; Jer. xlvii. 4. [27] *Ibid.* [28] Sayce, *loc. cit.*; *E.B.*, s.v. *Philistines.* [29] *E.B.*, *ibid.* [30] *E.B.*, *ibid.* [31] Dt. ii. 23. [32] Cf. Gen. x. 14, where the phrase אשר יצאו משם should follow Caphtorim. [33] Cf. *supra.* [34] 1 Sam. xxvii. 2. [35] Gen. xxi. 22. [36] 1 Sam. xxvii. 2. [37] 2 Sam. xv. 19. [38] 1 Sam. xvii. *passim.* [39] Jdg. iii. 3; xvi. 30; 1 Sam. vi. 4 *et al.* [40] 1 Sam. xxx. 14; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5. [41] 2 Sam. viii. 18. [42] 1 Sam. xxvi. 27. [43] Cheyne, in *E.B.*, s.v. *Caphtor;* W. Max Mueller, *op. cit.*, pp. 337, 390; also *J.E.*, s.v. [44] *J.E.*, s.v. *Caphtor.* [45] *Op. cit.*, p. 125. [46] *Op. cit.*, also *Die Urheimat der Philistaeer*, in *M.V.G.*, 1900. [47] Sub *Caphtor; Philistines.* [48] *Aegypten und die Buecher Mosis*, pp. 130 *sqq.* [49] *Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 136. [50] Gen. x. 14. [51] 1 Sam. iv. 9, 18. [52] Jdg. xviii. [53] 1 Sam. xxix. 2. [54] 1 Sam. xiii. 5. [55] 1 Sam. xxxi. 3. [56] *Loc. cit.* [57] 1 Sam. v. 1–7.

CHAPTER IV

ISRAELITISH PERIOD

1200–539 B.C.

While the Israelites, in their conquest of the trans-Jordanic region and the parts of Palestine proper immediately adjacent to it, were advancing westward, the Philistines, who were actively engaged in subduing the coast, were pressing steadily eastward. The two were bound to come into conflict. Although the Philistine coast was allotted to the tribe of Judah [1] according to the pragmatic historian of the Book of Joshua, it is known that this territory had not been conquered or even so much as entered by the Israelites.[2] The Shamgar incident [3] is evidently misplaced; or a doublet of Samson's exploits or those of David's heroes.[4]

The first real contact of the Philistines with the Israelites took place in the days of Samson. Behind the whole cycle of narratives, no matter how interpreted, one fact is firmly established; namely, that Israel and the Philistines now met for the first time, and that now began their long conflict, which was not to terminate till the time of David. This period of contact may be divided into three general subdivisions:[5] (1) the heroic period, including such characters as Samson, Saul, and David; (2) the peaceful period, the reign of Solomon; and (3) the period of desultory raids on both sides to about 800 B.C.

Interesting as the accounts of Samson's exploits are from the folklorist's point of view, all that can be derived from them for historical purposes is the suggestion of a desultory border warfare, in which the personal prowess of the Israelite champions made a deep impression upon the otherwise successful Philistine

lords. The Seren of Gaza was no doubt included among the "lords" [6] who went to Delilah to induce her to betray her lover. The captive was taken to Gaza,[7] the southernmost of the five cities (to preclude the possibility of a rescue by his friends?), to slave for his captors.[8] There, later, the Philistines assembled to rejoice before their great god Dagon for the fall of their enemy; and there the hero revenged himself upon his captors for his humiliation.[9] Mr. Macalister, the excavator of Tell el-Jezer, in his report on his excavations,[10] advances an explanation of the structure of the Dagon temple, on the basis of his discoveries at Gezer, whereby he shows that it was possible for Samson to have performed the feat ascribed to him of overturning the Temple of Dagon. If it be necessary to vindicate the details of tales of this nature, I think that it is safe to accept the view of Mr. Macalister. His wide experience in interpreting archæological remains, in which he has brought to bear not only his large architectural and engineering knowledge, but also actual work in many fields, makes him a safe guide in such matters. Samson, as the Danite hero typifies his tribe; and his overthrow may be interpreted as the defeat of his tribe at the hands of the Philistines. The Danites had penetrated to the coast at the time of the composition of the Song of Deborah.[11] When Philistine expansion began, this was the first tribe that lay in the way. The remarkable chain of victories which the Philistines won must be attributed to the confederation of their forces, to their use of chariots, and to the marvelous impulse given them by their first contact with the new land as well as to a lack of organization among the Israelites. Newcomers usually win in their first fights. Enthusiasm born of their new surroundings, the prospect of plunder, the desire for new homes, — all these act upon invaders and usually bring them victory.

After the defeat of the Danites the way lay clear for the Philistine advance against the Israelites of the highlands. The Philistines — and no doubt the city of Gaza participated in all the movements of their fellows — pressed forward and encamped at Aphek. A battle took place at Ebenezer, and after two

days' fighting the Israelites were defeated and the Ark of YHWH was captured.[12] The Ark was taken to the Temple of Dagon at Ashdod,[13] and the Philistines spread over the land, devastating it as they went. They established garrisons,[14] and doubtless used these posts not only in the military control of the land but in the collection of taxes, etc. Gaza contributed one of the golden hemeroids and a golden mouse when the Ark was returned to the Israelites after having caused so much mischief in Philistia.[15]

Philistine domination and oppression finally caused the scattered Israelitish tribes to unite.[16] Samuel anointed Saul king over them;[17] and, fired with prophetic inspiration, they began a campaign against the Philistines and the other enemies of Israel. One of the first acts of the new king was to fall upon the garrison at Geba.[18] This aroused the Philistines, and war followed. Victory rested with the Israelites after the battle of Michmash;[19] but the power of the enemy was as yet unbroken, and "there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul."[20]

The feats of David belong to a more general account of Philistine history than this pretends to be. Attention may, however, be directed to the close relations which existed between Israel and the Philistines at that period. Israelites participated in some of the raids of the Philistines;[21] David, when hard pressed by Saul, fled to the court of Achish;[22] and he also held Ziklag as a fief from the Philistine king.[23] The final event in Saul's reign was the disastrous defeat at the hands of the Philistines which he and his sons sustained at Mt. Gilboa.[24] Saul was killed, and whatever advantages he had gained were lost; the Philistines again overran the country; and Israel was once more tributary to them. Indeed, it is more than likely that Ish-baal[25] and David[26] ruled as vassals of the conquerors; and it is safe to assume at least that they ruled with the consent of the Philistines. It was not till after the murder of Ish-baal,[27] when David was anointed king of all Israel,[28] that the Philistines again moved against Israel. At Baal-perazim,[29] at Rephaim,[30] and at various other localities various[31] victories of the Israelites under David

are recorded. Peace must, however, have finally obtained between Israel and the Philistines; for David drew from the forces of the latter for his body-guard.[32]

During the reign of David the Miṣrim began to invade the Philistine territory (in 1 Kings ix. 18 Gezer is seen to be in the possession of the Pharaoh of MṢRYM, to have obtained which this people must have already subdued the southern cities and broken the power of the Philistine confederacy); and doubtless to this diversion were due the continued victories of David. Moslem tradition makes Gaza the birthplace of Solomon.[33] The gift of the Canaanite fortress Gezer to Solomon by the Pharaoh of MṢRYM,[34] is the first record of foreign interference in Palestinian affairs since the time of Rameses III. The Philistine power was now broken; and peace again obtained between Israel and its old-time enemy.

In the fifth year of Rehoboam (*c.* 926 B.C.), Shishak, king of Egypt, invaded Palestine.[35] Among the towns which he enumerates in his inscription on the south wall of the temple at Karnak is found Gaza. But this was no permanent occupation; rather a raid of the old sort, by which a warlike ruler sought to replenish his treasury with the plunder gathered in such an expedition.

At the beginning of the ninth century B.C. the old Assyrian power began once more to assert itself. Under Ashurnasirpal,[36] the Euphrates was crossed, and all of northern Syria came under Assyrian dominion (876 B.C.). During the reign of Jehoshaphat (d. 850 B.C.) some of the Philistines are said to have brought him tribute voluntarily.[37] Under his successor, Jehoram, Judah was invaded by the Philistines and the Arabians, who carried off great plunder as well as the members of the king's family.[38] Ashurnasirpal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II. (d. 825 B.C.), was actively engaged in maintaining Assyrian power over the regions that his father had conquered; but there is no record that either penetrated as far as Philistia. The rise of the Armenian power during the closing years of this reign diverted the attention of the Assyrians for a number of years. In 815 B.C.

Hazael, king of Damascus, who had been harassing Israel and Judah, penetrated as far as Gath and captured it.[39] By 806 B.C. the Assyrians had sufficiently recovered themselves for Rammannirari III. to enter Syria and Palestine, as far south as and including Philistia, and to subject them to his rule.[40] His successors undertook a number of punitive expeditions to the west; but Assyrian power steadily declined, and the various states regained their independence. About this time Uzziah led a campaign against the Philistines.[41] Under the rule of this king, the prophet Amos[42] denounced Gaza for selling to Edom slaves taken in the course of raids into Judean territory, and threatened the city with destruction.

The rise of Tiglath-pileser III. brought new strength to the Assyrian realm; and northern Syria was reconquered and annexed by this powerful monarch.[43] In 735 B.C. an alliance was formed between the king of Israel, the king of Damascus, Tyre, and the Philistine cities against Assyria.[44] The allies wished Judah to join them, but she held back; and to compel her to unite with them, the allies entered her territory. The Philistines invaded the south country and captured a number of towns from the feeble Ahaz.[45] Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser for assistance;[46] and that monarch, only too glad of an excuse to interfere in Palestinian affairs, marched to his aid (734 B.C.).

Tiglath-pileser entered the land of Israel,[47] took a number of towns, and then directed his march into Philistia. He went toward Gaza, whose king, Ḫanno, must have been active in the attack on Judah. "Gaza as the end of the Arabian caravan route and the chief market of the goods of southern Arabia was one of the most important and richest places in Palestine. Its possession was, therefore, of great importance for Assyria, both for its rich income, and also as a surety for the good behavior of the Arabian tribes."[48] Tiglath-pileser's anxiety to hold the city can therefore be easily understood. Nor should the ambition of the Assyrian to control Egypt be forgotten. With Gaza as a base, he would gain a foothold of inestimable value in

that direction. Ḫanno did not await the coming of the Assyrian, but fled to the land of Muṣri (probably northern Arabia, rather than Egypt). The Assyrian captured Gaza, carried away its gods,[49] and set up his own statue in the city.[50] Tribute was exacted from the conquered city; and it is interesting to note the list of materials which Gaza was made to furnish as its levy: [51] "Gold, silver, lead, iron, A.BAR, colored cloth, KU.KUM, utensils of the land (pottery ?, for which Gaza was famed), purple, . . . products of the sea and of the dry land, products of the land, royal treasure, horses, mules for harness. . . ." The prophecy against the Philistine cities in Zeph. ii. 4–6 was probably spoken at this time.[52] In 727 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III. died, and his son, Shalmaneser IV., ascended the throne.

During the siege of Samaria, Shalmaneser died, and Sargon, a usurper, ascended the throne. Encouraged by the rising of Merodach-baladan in Babylonia, and the distraction of Sargon's attention in that direction, the various Palestinian states once more formed an alliance against Assyria.[53] Ḫanno, who had fled before Tiglath-pileser III., seems to have been restored to the rule of Gaza, probably by means of the assistance of Sib'i, the tartan of Pir'u, king of Muṣri. Almost all the states of Palestine and southern Syria joined the alliance, except Judah, which remained loyal to Assyria.[54] It cannot be determined whether Merodach-baladan had any hand in forming this alliance or not. As soon as Sargon heard of this uprising, he marched against the allies before they had time to collect their forces. Yau-bidi was defeated at Qarqar, and Hamath, his city, submitted. Sargon then marched against the allies in the south. He met Ḫanno and Sib'i at Raphiku (Raphia) to the south of Gaza, and administered a severe defeat to them. Sib'i fled to his native land; Ḫanno was taken captive and sent to Assyria. The gods of Gaza were carried away a second time (read in 2 Kings xviii. 34 "Gaza" instead of "'Ivvah").[55] Instead of the rebel kings, Assyrian partisans were appointed to rule, and no doubt, heavier imposts were imposed, and a more severe régime was instituted. All Syria was now subject to Assyria.

In 711 B.C. a further revolt against the Assyrian power took place in Philistia. It was supported by the king of Musri;[56] but Gaza did not join in it. The uprising was quickly quelled by the promptness of Sargon's movements. Sargon died in 705 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Sennacherib. Soon after the latter's accession to the throne, the Palestinian states were again in open revolt. Hezekiah, king of Judah, was now the leading spirit in the uprising, owing probably to his cordial relations with Merodach-baladan.[57] Those of his neighbors who would not join with him, Hezekiah set out to compel; and this explains his expedition into Philistia as far as Gaza, referred to in 2 Kings xviii. 8. Sennacherib did not find himself free to move against the rebels in the west till 701 B.C. He put down the uprising among the allies, and rewarded those who had remained loyal by presents of the captured cities. Among those thus rewarded was Silbel, the Assyrian ruler of Gaza, who received a number of the captured cities of Judah.[58] It is impossible to avoid contrasting the petty rôle played by Gaza in international affairs during the reigns of Sennacherib and his successor with its importance during other periods of its history.

During the reign of Esarhaddon (680–668 B.C.) Silbel of Gaza paid tribute to that king.[59] In 674 B.C. Esarhaddon undertook a campaign against the Arabian tribes, put an end to the Minæan kingdom, and secured control of the spice trade route.[60] In 673 B.C. he marched against Egypt, but with little success; in 670 B.C. he once more marched against the Pharaoh and swept all before him; and in 668 B.C. he undertook another expedition to the same country, but died in the midst of it. His son and successor, Assurbanipal, repeated the success of his father and made Egypt an Assyrian dependency. A Sil-Ba'al[61] of Gaza paid tribute to Assurbanipal.[62] Whether this is the same that paid tribute to his father and grandfather, it is impossible to determine. It would seem that it is not, but that all bearing this name belonged to the successive generations of one family. As late as Nabuna'id a Sil-bel is found paying tribute to the Babylonian monarchy.[63]

In 652 B.C. a great revolt in all parts of the Assyrian empire. Elam, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, etc., was planned by Shamash-shumukin, the ruler of Babylon, and brother of the Assyrian king.[64] But the capture of Babylon by Assurbanipal put an end to the uprising; and the provinces returned to their allegiance (648 B.C.). After the successful siege of Babylon, Assurbanipal set out to reduce the Arabian tribes which had sided against him. On his return from this expedition, in which he won several fruitless victories, he passed through the Palestinian coast cities on his way to chastise Akko and Tyre-on-the-mainland for their persistent rebellion, they being the only cities which had not returned to their former allegiance.

The decline of the Assyrian power now set in, never to be revived again. The Scythian invasion which swept over Asia Minor and extended to the borders of Egypt (624 B.C.) broke up what remained of the Assyrian empire. Psammetichus I., king of Egypt, bought off the Scythians from entering Egypt.[65] The statement that Psammetichus besieged Ashdod[66] rests upon very doubtful authority; it is not at all likely that he ever entered Palestine. This monarch was the first Egyptian ruler to use mercenary troops. He attached a body of Carian and Ionian mercenaries to his army.[67] These troops first entered Palestine under his son. After the death of Psammetichus, his son Necho II. invaded Palestine. The Philistine cities submitted to his sway;[68] but not so Judah. Josiah, loyal to his Assyrian master, opposed Necho's advance at Megiddo and fell there.[69] Necho acted as overlord of Judah for some years following this victory.[70]

The occupation of Gaza by Necho[71] is also probably referred to by Herodotus,[72] who says that "after this battle [Megiddo?] he [Necho] took *Kadytis*, which is a great city of Syria." His defective chronology may be taken for granted; for Gaza submitted before Megiddo. But the identification of Kadytis with Gaza has been a crux for scholars for many years.

Καδυτις has been identified (*a*) with Jerusalem, the sup-

porters[73] of this view assuming that it was referred to then, as now, as Ḳuds, or by a similar name;

(*b*) with Hierapolis[74] קרת קדשת;

(*c*) with the Carcemish of the Hittites,[75] Kadesh on the Orontes;

(*d*) with Gaza.[76]

The facts of the case, the description of the city, all apply best to Gaza. The difficulty had been to connect the names philologically. This can be reasonably well established. Herodotus was better acquainted with Egyptian forms — due, no doubt, to his prolonged visit in that land. It is therefore safe to assume that he heard the Egyptian form of the city's name *Ga-ḏa-tu* (*Ga-ṣa-tu*). "G" and "k," being palatals, may be interchanged;[77] and likewise "d" and "ḏ" (or "ṣ"), similar dental forms.[78] The ending *is* presents no difficulty, as it is a common Greek terminative, and is so used by Herodotus in Hellenizing the name. Interesting is the comparison with the Hebrew ערלה, "foreskin" (Arabic *ghurlatun*), represented by the Egyptian *Karnatha* (*Garnatha*).[79] If, on the other hand, Herodotus rendered the name direct from the Hebrew, the identification would be somewhat more difficult, though not impossible. Fortunately we find at least one other word in the Old Testament, with an *'ayin* and spelled with a *kappa* in the Greek. The word ענת, *'Anat*,[80] is transliterated Κεναθ in the Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint. The *z* (*ds dz*) (ז) of the Hebrew is easily represented by the Greek *delta*, particularly in the Ionian dialects.[81] The "t," which in this scheme seems more difficult to account for, is the now well-recognized feminine ending, which later softened into ־ָה.[82] It is quite certain that Herodotus was not acquainted with the Assyrian form of the word; for the Greek renders words which begin with "ḫ" in Assyrian, with *chi*; *e.g.*, חבור = *Ḫabur* = Χαβωρ.[83]

Whatever success Necho attained was swept away by his severe defeat at Carcemish at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar,

the Babylonian king. The destinies of Palestine now lay in the hands of the Babylonian, and all the states submitted to the new master (605 B.C.). But Egypt was not so ready to submit. In 588 B.C. Hophra, and again in 570 B.C., Amasis, stirred up revolts against the Babylonians, with disastrous results to themselves and their allies. There is no record as to whether Gaza joined in these expeditions against the Babylonians; but it is not unlikely that it did, especially as it was necessary for the Egyptians to hold Gaza as their base of supplies for their advance, as well as in case of a retreat. After the death of Nebuchadnezzar (562 B.C.) the empire, which he and his father had built up, disintegrated rapidly. One of his successors, Nabuna'id (555 B.C.), lost Babylon to the Persians in 539 B.C., and the hegemony of Asia was transferred from the Semites to the Aryans. In one of his inscriptions [84] Nabuna'id calls upon all his tributaries as far as Gaza to contribute to the building of the temple of Sin at Harran, so that, even if the city had joined in the Egyptian uprisings, it had by this time returned to its loyalty.

[1] Josh. xv. 4. [2] Josh. xiii. 3; Jdg. i. 18, where read with the LXX., "not." [3] Jdg. iii. 31. [4] Cf. Moore, *Judges*, p. 105. On Jdg. x. 7, which represents the Israelities as delivered into the hands of the Philistines, see Moore, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*, where it is stated that the introduction of the Philistines into this passage is due to a later writer, who included them in order to form an introduction to the Samson-Philistine cycle. [5] George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of Palestine*, pp. 173 *sqq.* [6] Jdg. xvi. 5. [7] Jdg. xvi. 21. [8] *Ibid.* [9] Jdg. xvi. 22–30. [10] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, July, 1905, p. 195. [11] Jdg. v. 17. [12] 1 Sam. iv. 1–10. [13] *Ibid.*, v. 1 *sqq.* [14] *Ibid.*, xiii. 3. [15] *Ibid.*, vi. 17, 18. [16] *Ibid.*, ix. 16; cf. Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, pt. i. ch. 3. [17] *Ibid.*, x. 1. [18] *Ibid.*, xiii. 2. [19] *Ibid.*, xiv. 31. [20] *Ibid.*, xiv. 52. [21] *Ibid.*, xiv. 21. [22] *Ibid.*, xxvii. 2. [23] *Ibid.*, xxvii. 6. [24] *Ibid.*, xxxi. [25] 2 Sam. ii. 8, 9. [26] *Ibid.*, ii. 1–4. [27] *Ibid.*, iv. 5. [28] *Ibid.*, v. 1 *sqq.* [29] *Ibid.*, 5, 17–21. [30] *Ibid.*, v. 22–25. [31] *Ibid.*, xxi. 15, 17, 18, 19–22; xxiii. 8 *sqq.* [32] *Ibid.*, viii. 18. [33] Makrizi, *op. cit.* [34] 1 K. ix. 16. [35] *Ibid.*, xiv. 21 *sqq.* [36] *K.B.*, i., pp. 50 *sqq.* [37] 2 Chr. xvii. 11. [38] 2 Chr. xxi. 16 *sqq.* [39] 2 K. xii. 17. [40] *K.B.*, i. p. 190. [41] 2 Chr. xxvi. 6–8. [42] Am. i. 6–7. [43] *K.B.*, ii. pp. 2 *sqq.* [44] *K.B., loc.cit.*; 2 K. xvi. 5; 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. [45] 2 Chr. xxviii. 18. [46] 2 K. xvi. 7 *et al.* [47] 2 Chr. xxviii. 20; also *K.B.*, *loc. cit.* [48] Winckler, *Geschichte Babylonien und Assyriens*, p. 229. [49] *E.B.*, s.v. *AVVA*; with Cheyne, read עזה in 2 K. xvii. 24; xviii. 34; xix. 13;

and Is. xxxvii. 13; cf., too, Winckler, *Gesch. B. & A.*, pp. 228, 333. [50] *K.B.*, ii. p. 32. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [52] Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, i. p. 221. [53] *K.B.*, ii. pp. 42, 54. [54] Paton, *op. cit.*, p. 247. [55] *K.B.*, *ibid.* [56] *E.B.*, s.v. *Gaza; Philistines; Assyria.* [57] 1 K. xx. 12. [58] *K.B.*, ii. p. 94. [59] *K.B.*, ii. p. 148. [60] Cf. *supra;* Gaza was the Mediterranean end of that valuable trade-route. [61] *K.B.*, ii. p. 239. [62] Whether this family was native or Assyrian, the present state of our knowledge does not permit us to ascertain. Schrader, *K.B.*, ii. p. 239, n. 6, thinks that the family was native, and so reads the second element of the name *Ba'al*, and not *Bíl*. The form of the name is not unusual either as Assyrian or Palestinian. We find *Ṣil-Ašur, Ṣil-Ištâr, Ṭâb-Ṣil-Šamaš, et al.* Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwoerterbuch*, s.v. *ṣillu;* and accepting the interpretation found in Gesenius's *Thesaurus* of the name צלתי, 1 Chr. viii. 20; xii. 21, as צלת יה, it would appear as well established on Palestinian ground. Is it possible that the name of Zillah, the wife of Lamech, Gen. iv. 19–23, was such a theophorous name also? [63] Pinches, *Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, p. 411; *New International Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Gaza; E.B.*, s.v. *Gaza.* [64] *K.B.*, ii. pp. 182 *sqq.* [65] Herodotus, i. 105. [66] *Idem.*, ii. 157. [67] Diodorus, i. 67. [68] Jer. xlvii. 1. [69] 2 K. xxiii. 29, 30. [70] 2 K. xxiii. 33–36. [71] Jer. xlvii. 1. [72] ii. 159. [73] Dahlman, Keil, Baehr, Niebuhr, Mueller. [74] Oppert. [75] Moevers. [76] Heyse, Hitzig, Ewald, Stark, pp. 220 *sqq.*, and most moderns. [77] Kautzsch, Gesenius Grammar, 27th ed., p. 31. [78] *Ibid.* It is interesting to note that in the vulgar dialect of the second century A.D., such forms as Zogenes and Zonysius are found for Diogenes and Dionysius. (Cf. Brewer, *Kommodian von Gaza*, in the *Forschungen zur christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, vi. p. 345.) [79] Brown, Briggs, and Driver, *Lexicon*, s.v. [80] Jdg. v. 6. [81] Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 224. [82] See Margolis, *The Feminine Ending "T" in Hebrew*, in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xii. nos. 3 and 4. [83] *B.B. & D.*, s.v. [84] *K.B.*, iii. 2, 98.

CHAPTER V

THE PERSIAN PERIOD
(TO THE CONQUEST OF GAZA BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT)

539–332 B.C.

DESPITE the minor rôle which it had played in international politics during the Babylonian domination, Gaza at the close of that period was still an important city. Hecatæus[1] and Herodotus[2] called it "a great city"; and the latter compared it with Sardis. According to Arrian[3] it was a great city when attacked by Alexander; and Plutarch states that it was the largest city of Syria at the time of its capture by that king.[4] It was the only city which set up any opposition to Cambyses on his way into Egypt, though it finally submitted to his rule.[5] He then made it the base of his expedition against Egypt. Later tradition claimed that, as stated above, the place received its name from the treasure[6] which Cambyses buried there.

In the provincial organization of the Persian empire of Darius, Palestine was included in the fifth satrapy.[7] During this period Gaza was practically autonomous and continued to be very prosperous. Its history is marked by growing trade with Greece and the pressing forward of the Arabs to the coast. This Arabization is proved by the number of Arabs mentioned in the accounts of the siege of Gaza by Alexander[8] (ten thousand Persians and Arabs, mostly the latter, fell during the siege). Herodotus's observation, that the Palestinian Syrians were circumcised,[9] seems to show that the non-Semitic Philistines had been absorbed in the general population and that Arabs had taken their place.[10] The Arabs had settled on the coast south of Gaza, their chief city being Jenysos, and they were already there

at the time of Cambyses's campaign.[11] The first mention of the Arabs (Bedouins) in Philistine territory, according to Hoelscher,[12] is in Zeph. ii. 5, 6, which reads, "Woe unto the inhabitants of the seacoast, the nation of the Cherethites! the word of the Lord is against you; O Canaan, the land of the Philistines, I will even destroy thee . . . and the seacoast shall be dwellings and cottages for shepherds, and folds for flocks." The Septuagint reads this latter part "and Cherath shall be cottages of shepherds." [13] Cherath here surely means the Philistine country, not the island of Crete. A further indication of the Arabization of this region is found in 2 Chr. xiv. 8-14, where the inhabitants of the regions of Gerar are called Cushim. Gerar is the present Jerâr, south of Gaza.[14] An Arabian Cush has been fairly well established by the investigations of Winckler.[15]

The coins dating from this period, which are found with either עזה or עז on them, were minted according to Athenian standards,[16] and were no doubt made specially for the trade with Greece. Athenian coins first came into Palestine in the fifth century B.C.; and thenceforward the local coins were minted after their pattern.[17] And beside these commercial relations with Greece, the presence of Greek mercenaries in the armies of the Egyptian and the Persian [18] added to those Greek influences which were already beginning to make themselves felt in the life of Philistia.

Whether the Philistine cities were engaged in any of the various revolts of the Western lands against their Persian masters (*e.g.* 445 B.C. Megabyzus in Syria revolted against Artaxerxes Longimanus; 353 B.C., revolt in Cyprus, Judea, and Phœnicia against Artaxerxes III.) the sources do not state. At least, they must have sympathized with the rebels, who counted much upon the neutrality of these parts. Among the records [19] from the reigns of Artaxerxes I. and Darius II. (464-405 B.C.) there is mention of a city or locality, named (*alu*) Hazatu. This appears to be the name of a suburb of Nippur. In view of the fact that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Nippur were west-Semitic [20] at that time, it is highly probable that

this suburb was named after the coast city Gaza by the traders who came from there and settled in Nippur.[21] Gaza had been spared the humiliation of a Persian garrison; but after the great Phœnician uprising, one was placed in the city to keep the native population well under control. Another reason for placing a garrison in Gaza at this time was the general advance of the Arabs into this territory. This did not take place till about 351 B.C.[22] From now on, the inhabitants are no more referred to as Syrians, but as Arabians.

In the final struggle with the Macedonians Gaza proved true to its Persian allegiance. When Alexander approached the city (332 B.C.), it offered a stubborn resistance to his assaults for two months. It was defended by the Persian eunuch Betis[23] with a company of Persians and Arabs. He had apparently prepared for a long siege, having provisioned the city and repaired the walls. The siege was begun on the south side, which seemed to be the weakest; but the city was protected by a high wall[24] upon which the siege-machines seemed to make no impression.[25] Alexander's engineers thought the wall was too high and too strong to be taken by force, so he was all the more anxious to take the city to add to his prestige. He thereupon ordered a rampart to be built about the city.[26] The soil was easy for the digging of mines;[27] but because of its soft, sandy nature it offered difficulties for the siege-machines. The rampart was finally finished and the machines were mounted on it. Alexander, because of an unfavorable omen while sacrificing,[28] delayed the assault which he had planned, and determined upon a slow siege. The Persians made an assault, pressing hard the engineers and those who supported them; and in the fray Alexander was wounded in the shoulder[29] or in the knee.[30] The Macedonians withdrew, and Betis, mistaking this for a retreat, celebrated his advantage.[31] More engines were now brought down from Tyre, and the rampart completed about the city. When finished, it was about twenty stadia in length and about two hundred and fifty feet high. After four more attacks, a breach was made in the wall; Alexander took the city by

assault; the garrison was put to the sword; and the women and children were sold as slaves.[32] About ten thousand Persians and Arabs fell in the siege. Betis even in his defeat defied the conqueror. Alexander, eager to emulate Achilles, dragged his body behind his chariot till life was extinct.[33] A colony of people from the vicinity was planted on the site of the city by Alexander, and a Greek garrison was stationed there.[34] The booty was immense. Portions of it were sent to Olympias, Cleopatra, and Alexander's many friends, including his preceptor Leonidas, to whom, in memory of an incident of his youth, he gave five hundred talents' weight of frankincense and one hundred talents of myrrh.[35] Having been prodigal with the incense at a sacrifice, his preceptor had cautioned him to be more careful of it till he should be master of the land which produced it. Now, he was able to do as he would; for the land was his. Gaza at this time was the chief center of frankincense trade.

Here the history of the old Philistine city ceases. Gaza now becomes a Hellenistic city, whose fate is closely identified with the fortunes of the Western world; but it never loses its importance as the strategic point on the high road between Asia and Africa.

[1] S.v. *Kanutis* in Steph. Byz. [2] ii. 159. [3] ii. 106. [4] *Alexander*, c. 25. [5] Polybius, xvi. 40. [6] Pomponius Mela, i. 11; Steph. Byz., *s.v.*: "for thus [*Gaza*] do the Persians call 'treasure.'" [7] Herodotus, iii. 91. [8] Arrian, ii. 26; Curtius, iv. 6, 15. [9] ii. 102; cf. Jos., *Ant.* viii. 10, 3. [10] Hoelscher, *Palaestina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, p. 19. [11] Herodotus, quoted by Steph. Byz., *s.v.* According to Steph. Byz. this city was south of Gaza and three days' march from Kasion and Sirbonis. If these were only ordinary stages, and not forced marches like those of Titus referred to by Josephus (*B.J.*, iv. 11, 5), the time referred to is too great from Kasion to Rhinocolura, provided we identify it with Jenysos. The site must be looked for nearer Raphia: maybe at Khan Junes. Cf. Stark, p. 647; Hoelscher, p. 18. [12] Hoelscher, p. 18. [13] Wellhausen, *Die Kleine Prophen, ad. loc.* [14] Hoelscher, p. 19. [15] *E.B.*, s.v.; *M.V.G.*, 1898; *Glaser*, Skizze ii. 326 *sqq.* [16] *E.B.*, s.v. *Philistines;* also Six, *op. cit.* [17] Schuerer, *J.P.*, ii. 1, 68; Six, *op. cit.* [18] Diodorus, xvi. 45. [19] A. T. Clay, *Business Documents of Murasu Sons in Nippur.* [20] Aramæans settled in large numbers in the chief cities of Assyria and Babylonia, as they were very active merchants. The large num-

ber of docket inscriptions on weights and other objects found in Mesopotamia points to the importance of these western Semites, whose language thus received official recognition. [21] Dr. A. T. Clay, in a special communication to the author. [22] Hoelscher, p. 19. [23] Babemeses, in Josephus, *Ant.*, xi. 8, 3. [24] Mr. Macalister found the city walls of Gezer from five and a half to eleven feet thick. *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1903, p. 114. [25] Quintus Curtius Rufus, ii. 26. [26] Arrian, ii. 26. [27] *Q.C.R.*, ii. 26. [28] Arrian, *loc. cit.* [29] Arrian, ii. 27. [30] *Q.C.R.*, ii. 27. [31] *Q.C.R.*, *loc. cit.* [32] Arrian, ii. 27. [33] Arrian, *loc. cit.* [34] *Q.C.R.*, ii. 28. [35] Plutarch, *Alexander*, c. 26.

CHAPTER VI

THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

323–324 B.C.

ALEXANDER had hardly passed away (323 B.C.) before Philistia became a bone of contention between his successors. Between his death and the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.) there were many struggles for the mastery of this strip of land, whose strategic importance all seemed to have recognized. In the first assignment of the empire, immediately after the death of the conqueror, Syria was allotted to Laomedon; but he did not long retain it.[1] In 320 B.C. Ptolemy I. of Egypt seized Philistia with the rest of Palestine and Syria. He garrisoned Gaza and Jaffa, the former having quickly revived after its conquest by Alexander, and become a Macedonian garrison town. A great arsenal was established there; and troops were quartered in the city, which was now thoroughly Hellenized.[2]

In 315 B.C. Antigonus, who considered himself the sole successor of Alexander, easily took these cities from Ptolemy; but he was not allowed to hold them undisturbed many years. In the year 312 B.C., "the eleventh year after the death of Alexander,"[3] the opposing forces met at Gaza; and there the fate of Syria and Egypt was decided. On the one side were Ptolemy and Seleucus with a large force of Macedonians, Greek mercenaries, and a number of natives, part armed, part suttlers and carriers. On the other side were Demetrius, son of Antigonus, Nearchos, and Peithon with another large force, including a number of elephants. The Egyptian army was well able to hold back the elephants, and soon turned Demetrius's left. A few initial successes gave the victory to the Egyptians.

Demetrius fled through Gaza to Azotus, without even contesting the outcome of the fight. His losses are said to have amounted to about eight thousand, though this is no doubt an exaggeration.[4]

The country fell into the hands of Ptolemy; but in the autumn of the same year he was driven out by Antigonus and Demetrius. In his retreat he dismantled the fortifications of Akko, Jaffa, and Gaza.[5] Peace was concluded in 311 B.C. and Antigonus was left master of the coast as far as Egypt. The attempts of Antigonus at this time to gain control of the incense trade-route[6] and the asphalt trade[7] of the Dead Sea region, with a view to harass Egypt, miscarried. Gaza was the base of Antigonus's expedition against Egypt in 306 B.C., the failure of which assured that kingdom to Ptolemy permanently.[8] A retaliatory expedition by Ptolemy was soon expected; but for some unknown reasons it did not take place for four years. In 302 B.C. Ptolemy invaded Syria and advanced to an attack on Sidon. He, however, withdrew on hearing that Antigonus was hastening to its relief; and, retreating, left garrisons in all the towns he had captured, including Gaza.

When, after the battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.), in which Antigonus fell, the four generals met to divide the Macedonian empire, this coast was at the disposal neither of Ptolemy nor of Seleucus; but was in the possession of the garrisons of Demetrius. The disposition which was then made of it was highly unsatisfactory; for in later times both Egyptians and Syrians claimed that the coast territory had been assigned to them. Ptolemy in a very short time secured for himself whatever power Demetrius still retained in these parts, and acquired all of southern Palestine as Egyptian territory. The Syrian wars[9] of 275–274 B.C., 261–250 B.C., and 246–240 B.C., were fought in the north of Syria, and therefore left Philistia unaffected. As a final outcome, after having changed masters back and forth with confusing rapidity and manifold complications, the whole of Philistia became a Ptolemaic dependency. No attempt was made to deprive Egypt of this territory till 219 B.C., when Antiochus III. Magnus advanced through Syria against the Egyptians. The

latter fortified Gaza, using it as the base of their operations. All of southern Palestine, together with Gaza, must have fallen (218 B.C.) into Antiochus's hands;[10] for in the next year he is found using Gaza as his base for an expedition against Egypt. In the spring of 217 B.C. one of the greatest battles of antiquity was fought at Raphia, between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopator. The former was completely defeated, and the latter regained the mastery of Philistia, which he had lost in the preceding years.[11] But the Seleucidæ had not yet given up hope of controlling this coast.

In 201 B.C. Antiochus renewed operations in this region with the ultimate idea of invading Egypt. He met with little or no resistance in all Syria and Palestine till he reached Gaza. Gaza defied him, and was only subdued after a long siege. The next year the Egyptians attempted to recover what they had lost in 201 B.C. They met with some success, and occupied Palestine; but a severe defeat at Paneion (modern Banias) at the source of the Jordan (198 B.C.) put an end to all their hopes in that direction. The Ptolemies had enjoyed the rule of Syria with frequent interruptions for a full century; but the region now became part of the Seleucidan kingdom. To cement the peace, Antiochus married his daughter Cleopatra to the young prince of Egypt. He gave her as her dowry the rich province of Cœlesyria,[12] according to the Egyptian claims; but, according to the Syrians, she was only to enjoy certain revenues from it during her life.[13]

After the death of Cleopatra, her brother, Antiochus IV. Epiphanes, who had usurped the Syrian throne, set out to reclaim this region for Syria. He encountered the Egyptian army under Ptolemy Philometor in the desert between Raphia and Mt. Casius, and administered a severe defeat to the Egyptians. He then had himself crowned king of Egypt.[14] He soon withdrew from Egypt, whereupon the loyalists crowned Ptolemy Physcon. Hearing of this, Antiochus made a second expedition into Egypt, ostensibly on behalf of his nephew Philometor[15] (170–169 B.C.). His success in this campaign was suddenly cut

short by the demands of the Romans through their envoy Popilius Lænas (168 B.C.). The Romans had ju-t won a great victory at Pydna, and put an end to the Macedonian kingdom. They now attempted to exercise authority over the affairs of the Oriental world. Lænas demanded that Antiochus restore to Egypt all of Palestine and Cœle-Syria. Antiochus asked for time for consideration, but an immediate answer was demanded. It was given; Antiochus returned to Egypt all the fruits of his victories.[16] This was a severe set-back to Syrian power and ambition; and besides, it established the principle of intervention by this new Western power in the affairs of the Orient.

The internal struggles which now took place under Antiochus, and which are known as the wars of the Maccabees, affected the Philistine coast but little. Lysias, to whom the conduct of the war against Judea was intrusted by Antiochus, made Philistia the base of his operations; and it is related that he invited the natives of this region to accompany him against the Jews as prospective purchasers of the captives that he felt sure of making.[17] The old racial antagonism could hardly have died out; for mention is also made of men "of the land of the Philistines" in the Syrian army.[18] The latter operated from the plain country on the coast; and the defeats inflicted on it at Beth-horon and Beth-zur — defiles, which led from the plain up into the mountain land of Judah — sufficed to free Israel from her oppressors. The Hasmonean brothers finally established the independence of their fatherland, and set up a kingdom of their own, carved out of the Syrian empire.

In the time of Judas Maccabeus forays had been made into the land of Philistia;[19] and his successors followed up these till they finally occupied the land of the Philistines and made it part of their territory. The Hasmoneans took part in the dynastic quarrels which followed the death of Antiochus IV., and in this way added to their prestige both at home and abroad; their fortunes rising and falling, of course, with those of their partizans. They were sought after by the rival claimants to the throne, and titles of honor and respect were bestowed upon them.

Jonathan, who had succeeded his brother at his death (161 B.C.), had at first been an ally of Demetrius in his struggle with Antiochus, son of Alexander Balas. But, owing to Demetrius's treachery, he had gone over to the side of Trypho and Antiochus, and been made a "friend of the king" by the former. Antiochus also appointed Simon, Jonathan's brother, military commander of the king from the ladder of Tyre to the borders of Egypt.[20] Whereupon Jonathan and Simon endeavored to make good their title to this territory.[21] Askelon submitted to them without a conflict; but Gaza resisted stoutly, whereupon Jonathan besieged the city. Not that Gaza was of Demetrius's party; but the citizens opposed Jonathan rather than submit to their old-time enemies, the Jews. The besieging army laid waste the territory surrounding the city; and the inhabitants of Gaza, being hard pressed and seeing that no aid came to them from Demetrius, opened up negotiations with Jonathan. He made a league of friendship with them, taking as hostages for its observance the sons of the "princes"[22] of the place, whom he sent to Jerusalem[23] (145–143 B.C.).

These victories were not of the nature of permanent occupations. The aspirations of the Hasmoneans were as yet limited to the preservation of the integrity of their fatherland, and the free and unmolested maintenance of its institutions. Under Jonathan, however, these first steps toward ultimate independence and territorial expansion were taken.

In 135 B.C. Antiochus VII. Sidetes invaded Judah with the object of wresting from it such Syrian towns and territory as it had acquired during the confusion attendant upon the civil wars of the period. His expedition was entirely successful; and Syrian suzerainty over Judah and her dependencies was reëstablished.[24] But under Alexander Jannæus the Jews recovered all that they had lost in the previous reigns, and more.

The first act of Alexander after his accession (104 B.C.) was to besiege Ptolemais (Acco), which, besides Gaza, Dora, and Strato's Tower, was the only coast city not controlled by the Jews. The inhabitants of these towns called to their aid Ptolemy

Lathyrus, who was then in Cyprus, whither he had gone after being exiled from Egypt by his mother, Cleopatra. On the approach of Lathyrus, Alexander abandoned the siege of Ptolemais, and concluded a treaty of peace with him. At the same time he treacherously informed Lathyrus's mother of her son's intention to intrench himself in Palestine and make it his own. Carrying out the terms of his treaty, Lathyrus had vanquished the tyrant Zoilus, who held Dora and Strato's Tower; but when he heard of Alexander's treachery, he fell upon his forces and defeated them. He then overran the whole country. Cleopatra now marched against Lathyrus both by land and by sea. Thinking that Egypt would be unprotected, Lathyrus made a countermove against it. He was mistaken, however; and the army which Cleopatra despatched drove him back into Gaza, where he spent the winter. Unable to maintain himself any longer in Palestine, Lathyrus returned to Cyprus.[25]

When Alexander Jannæus was free of his Egyptian allies and their common opponent, he proceeded to wreak vengeance upon Gaza for its part in inviting Lathyrus into the country. He ravaged the surrounding territory and besieged the city. Apollodotus, general of the Gaza army, made a night attack upon the besiegers with ten thousand native troops and two thousand mercenaries. During the darkness, thinking that Lathyrus had attacked them, the Jews were sorely discomforted; but in the morning, when they discovered their mistake, they returned to the attack and drove the townspeople back into the city with severe losses. But this did not daunt the people of Gaza: they were prepared to resist to the utmost, especially as Aretas, king of the Arabians, had promised to come to their aid. Before his arrival, however, Apollodotus was slain by his brother Lysimachus, who surrendered the city to the Jews. Alexander gave the city over to plunder; and here again the inhabitants showed they were no cravens. They fought with the Jews in the streets; many burned their property rather than allow it to fall into the hands of the enemy; and others killed their families and themselves to avoid their being sold into slavery. The senate hap-

pened to be in session in the Temple of Apollo at the time of the surrender[26] (96 B.C.); and its members, numbering five hundred, were all slain by Alexander.[27] The conqueror had spent a year in the siege. When his active military operations ceased, three years before his death (78 B.C.), Alexander was in possession of all the coast from Carmel to the River of Egypt except the city of Askelon.[28] The growing participation of the Arab tribes (Nabataeans) in the affairs of Palestine from this time onward is of particular interest.

After the death (69 B.C.) of Alexandra Salome, who had succeeded her husband, Alexander Jannaeus, their sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus fell out about the succession. Pompey, the Roman general, was near at hand in Asia Minor, engaged in his successful war against Mithridates of Pontus. Hearing of the quarrels of the brothers, he sent his general, Scaurus, into Judea to investigate (65 B.C.). Scaurus decided in favor of Aristobulus; but the matter was reopened before Pompey himself at Damascus in 63 B.C. Owing to disturbances incited by Aristobulus, Pompey advanced against Jerusalem, captured it, freed the maritime cities, Gaza, Joppa, and Strato's Tower, and joined them to the newly created province of Syria (62 B.C.), of which Scaurus was made the first governor.[29] Several years later (57 B.C.) Gabinius, Pompey's general, ordered the rebuilding of Gaza together with others of the destroyed cities.[30] Pompey celebrated his Oriental triumph in Rome in 61 B.C., from which year the inhabitants of Gaza dated their era (cf. *infra*).

In 56–55 B.C. Gabinius, against the wishes of the Roman Senate, made an expedition into Egypt to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne. He returned to Palestine in 55 B.C. During the period of the civil wars the history of Rome was reflected in the history of Palestine. Five times the country changed masters — Pompey, Caesar, Cassius and Brutus, Anthony, and finally Octavian, successively holding sway. In 47 B.C. Caesar was in Syria on his way from Egypt to Pontus. The neglect of the preceding years was in part atoned for by setting up an orderly government in the province. In 41–40 B.C.

the Parthians invaded Syria and conquered all Palestine and Phœnicia.[31] They were driven out in the following year by Ventidius Bassus.[32] In 34 B.C. Anthony, infatuated with Cleopatra, presented her with Cœle-Syria, the coast below the river Eleutherus, probably as far as Egypt, and other parts of Judea and Arabia.[33] This was done without the approval of the Senate, and the gift was never formally made. In 32 B.C. a severe earthquake was reported in Judea which may have been felt even in Philistia.[34]

Herod the Idumean, who had risen to power in Judea and had made himself king in place of the Hasmoneans, had maintained his position despite the changes of rulers at Rome. In 30 B.C. he visited Augustus, who was then in Egypt. The latter presented him with a number of cities, among them Gaza; and these were added to the Judean kingdom.[35] The particularly friendly relations which existed between Herod and the Philistine cities were due to two causes: (1) he was of Philistine origin, in fact, the descendant of a hierodule of the Apollo temple in Askelon;[36] and (2) his father Antipater had won the good-will of these cities by his frequent gifts to them during the time of his leadership in Judea. He accompanied Augustus on his return from Egypt as far as Antioch.[37] Herod appointed Costobarus governor of Idumea and Gaza, and gave him his sister Salome to wife.[38] In the year 25 B.C. pestilence and a severe famine ravaged Judea, and doubtless the Philistine country suffered also.[39] Herod at his death (4 B.C.) left his son Archelaus the kingdom, but Augustus changed the dispositions of the will. He removed the Greek cities Gaza, Gadara, and Hippos from Archelaus's rule, and restored them to the province of Syria.[40]

[1] *E.B.*, s.v. *Philistines.* [2] Jos., *B.J.*, xi. 6, 3. [3] *Idem*, *Contra Apionem*, i. 22. [4] Diodorus, xix. 80. The Seleucid era began in this notable year. [5] *Idem*, xix. 93. [6] Cf. *supra.* Gaza owed a great deal of its importance to its being the Mediterranean terminal of the incense trade-route, which crossed the Arabian desert and ended at Gaza. [7] The commercial value of the asphalt of the Dead Sea was early recognized, and the transportation of this valuable article brought wealth and importance to southern Palestine. The Dead Sea was frequently

referred to as Lake Asphaltites. [8] Diodorus, xx. 73. [9] Pausaniat, i. 7, 3. [10] Polybius, v. 68 *sqq.* [11] *Idem*, v. 82–86. [12] Polybius, xxvii. 19. [13] *Idem*, xxviii. 20. [14] 1 Macc. i. 16–19. [15] 2 Macc. v. 1; Polyb. xxviii. 19. [16] Polyb. xxix. 27; Livy, xlv. 12. [17] 1 Macc. iii. 41. [18] *Ibid.* [19] 1 Macc. v. 68. [20] 1 Macc. xi. 53–59; Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 5, 3–4; Schuerer, J. P., i. 1, p. 248. [21] 1 Macc. xi. 60–62. [22] 1 Macc. xi. 61, 62. [23] Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 2, 5. [24] Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 8. [25] Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 12, 2–6; 13, 1–2. [26] *Ibid.*, xiii. 13, 3; *B.J.* i. 4, 2–3. [27] A coin from this period (Six, *op. cit.*, no. 21) with the inscription מלך עזה, "king (or ruler) of Gaza," indicates its autonomy, as well as the character of its communal government. The semitic *melek* may be a loose rendering of the older title *seren*, or of the Greek ἄρχων, — the usual title of the heads of autonomous Greek cities. The constitution seems to have been modeled on that of the Greek cities; but of this see further details in the next chapter. [28] *Ant.* xiii. 15, 4. [29] *Ant.* xiv. 4, 4. [30] *Ant.* xiv. 5, 3. [31] Dio Cassius, xlviii. 24–26. [32] *Idem*, xlviii. 36–41. [33] *Ant.* xv. 3, 8; *B.J.* i. 18, 5. [34] *Ant.* xv. 5, 1; *B.J.* i. 19, 3. [35] *Ant.* xv. 7, 3; *B.J.* i. 20, 4. [36] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 6, 7. [37] *Ant.* xv. 9, 1. [38] *Ant.* xv. 7, 9. [39] *Ant.* xv. 9, 1. [40] *Ant.* xvii. 11, 4; *B.J.* ii. 6, 3.

CHAPTER VII

THE ROMAN PERIOD

4 B.C. – 600 A.D.

FROM the death of Herod to the capture of the country by the Arabs in 634 A.D., the period is characterized by the practically uninterrupted growth of the coast cities. A whole series of imperial coins of Gaza from Augustus to Elagabalus is extant.[1] The cities remained under Roman rule, either in the Eastern or Western empire, and developed internally along the lines of Hellenistic culture. With the progress of Christianity a new element was added to the complex of forces which were at work in the Philistine towns; but the new faith had barely sufficient time to establish itself before Islam swept it away from this part of the world forever.

Gaza maintained its prominent position during the whole of this period. Pliny,[2] Pomponius Mela,[3] Quintus Curtius,[4] Arrian,[5] and Eusebius[6] all speak of its importance. It maintained itself as a free and independent city.[7] Later it no doubt became a Roman military colony, for there is a brief inscription in Waddington and Le Bas[8] which reads *κολωνίας Γάζης*. And the "Gazensis Duumvir" mentioned by Jerome[9] also points to a Roman constitution. These military colonies were directly under the emperor of Rome, who appointed a legate to take charge of the cities in his name. The Senate had nothing to do with such colonies, as their form of government was but the extension of the military ideal.[10]

Further interesting notices occur concerning the inner constitution of the city of Gaza, which is constantly referred to as

πόλις, reminiscent of the old Greek free city-state. For example, there are frequent references to the "demos," the people as a body. They seem to have been recognized as an entity, many of the coins bearing the inscriptions δῆμος Γαζαίων; τῶν ἐν Γάζῃ; Γαζίτων; Γαζεάτων. As citizens of the city, only the old native elements are recognized: thus Pompey gives the city to the γνήσιοι πολῖται, and the Jews seem not to have enjoyed equal rights with them.[11] Again reference is made to a βουλή, a council, or senate, which formerly was composed of five hundred members.[12] These were elected from an inner circle of the inhabitants, the best families of the city,[13] and represented the aristocratic elements in the government. From the Suidas passage it may also be inferred that citizenship could be bestowed upon strangers by a vote of the people. The members of this senate are often referred to as πρῶτοι,[14] and later as *primores*,[15] *curiales*,[16] and *decuriones*.[17] Finally, there occur the ἄρχαι, who corresponded to the magistrates of the West. Sozomen [18] distinguished between the ἄρχοντες and the στρατηγοί, which at the first glance would appear to indicate a division of magisterial powers between military and civil functionaries. On closer examination, however, this does not seem to have been the case. The duumvir mentioned by Jerome [19] is merely a municipal magistrate, the title being variously rendered in Greek by the two words used above.[20] This seems to have been the highest position to which a citizen could be elected. Alongside of these there are met with in Gaza the Irenarchae,[21] whose functions were to "preserve public good order and to correct morals," [22] and who were known as the "guardians of the peace." [23] They corresponded to the prefects in Western cities and were selected each year from ten names submitted to the head of the municipality. The police power was intrusted into their keeping. A "defensor populi" [24] is also mentioned as a city official. He was probably a citizen elected by his fellows to look after their rights in a city otherwise governed by the "better classes." A "curator of the sanctuary" (ἐπιμελητῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) is also mentioned in the

inscription of Gordianus:[25] he seems to have had charge of the city temples and sanctuaries. The ἀγωράνομος mentioned on several inscriptions[26] was a petty market official.

The years following the death of Herod were quiet ones for the Philistine coast. The cities were well satisfied with their Roman masters, who were content to allow them to pursue their own way unhindered. In 66, at the beginning of the Jewish war with Rome, the Jews were ruthlessly slaughtered in Cæsarea and other coast towns, no doubt with the connivance of Florus the procurator; and in revenge they set fire to Askelon and Ptolemais and burned Anthedon and Gaza.[27] This, however, could hardly have been a widespread destruction in the case of Gaza; for the city seems to have continued on its usual way with little interruption. The course of the war left the Philistine cities untouched. In 68 they no doubt joined with the other Hellenistic cities of Syria in sending deputations and crowns to Vespasian in Beirut and in acclaiming him emperor.[28] In 69 Titus passed through Gaza on his march from Egypt to Palestine,[29] and again on his return the year after the fall of Jerusalem.[30]

As the cities of Judea declined, those of the Philistine coast increased in importance. The campaign of Cornelius Palma (105) to Bostra and Perea, and the establishment of the province of Arabia made Gaza all the more secure, and restored its old trade with Petra and Aila. The first severe persecution of the Christians in Palestine occurred in the reign of Trajan, about 106–114. Christianity had been introduced into Gaza by Philip.[31] The progress of the new faith was very slow; for even at the end of the fourth century the heathen temples still stood in Gaza and their oracles were consulted.[32] Though there is no record that the Christians of Gaza suffered in the persecutions, there can be little doubt that their experiences were similar to those of their fellow-believers elsewhere during the early days of the Church.

The reign of Hadrian was a halcyon period in the history of the coast cities. He visited the East several times during

his reign — in 123–125; 129–130; and, finally, in 135, after the close of the war with the Jews under Bar Kokhba. Gaza in particular was favored by the emperor; and during his second visit a new local era, the Hadrianic, was instituted (cf. *infra*); thus 1 anno Hadrianis = 190 anno Gazæ = 129 A.D. Some confusion as to the exact year of this second visit to Palestine has existed; but the dates given above seem to be well established by the imperial coins of the period as well as by the historical notices.[33] There was another general persecution of the Christians under Hadrian in 128.

In 135, after the close of the Bar Kokhba rebellion, Hadrian sold some of his Jewish captives at the rate of a horse apiece. He took the rest to Gaza, where he instituted games, at which he caused the Jews to be torn to pieces. These games, known as the *πανήγυρις* 'Αδριανή, were famous throughout Syria. The author of the "Chronicon Paschale"[34] (*circa* 629 A.D.) mentions them,[35] as does also the unknown author of the "Totius Orbis Descriptio" (fourth century).[36] In that century they were the most famous games in all Syria, their chief features being the *pammacharii* (an athletic display which included boxing and wrestling) and oratorical and rhetorical contests (the "bonos suditores" of the "Totius Orbis Descriptio" is a poor translation of *ἀκροαματικοί* of the original text). Jerome[37] mentions also the celebration of some Circensian games in this place, probably as part of the Hadrianic foundation.

Till then, Syria, not including Palestine, formed but one province of the Roman Empire. Hadrian conceived the idea of dividing it together with Palestine into two great provinces; but this was not finally put into definite form till the time of Septimius Severus. After his defeat of Piscennius Niger, at the beginning of his reign (about 195), Severus divided the province into Syria Magna and Syria Phœniciana, which was sometimes merely referred to as Phœniciana. This latter included the littoral from Gaza to Laodicea, and Syria Centralis. The ruler of Syria Magna was known as *συριαρχής* and that of Syria

Phœniciana, as φοινικαρχής. This division lasted till the time of Arcadius, the first emperor of the East [38] (395–408).

The emperor Gordianus III. (238–244) was a special favorite in the Oriental provinces (Africa, Syria, and Arabia). After his defeat of the Persians he stopped at Gaza, and probably showed special favor to the local cults. The inscription found on the base of his statue at the Portus Trajanus, erected by the citizens of Gaza, points to some such favor to the city and its gods.[39] The inscription of the rhetorician Ptolemæus, the son of Serenus, the Phoinikarch, found at Eleusis,[40] dates from the end of the third century as evidenced by the epigraphy. No other reference to either Ptolemæus or Serenus is found. The former must have been an important personage to have merited the glowing words of the inscription.[41] Where Serenus exercised his functions cannot be determined, since the provincial assembly met at Tyre, Sidon, Damascus, or Emessa. It may be that Ptolemæus was not a native of Gaza, but had been trained in the schools of that city, which produced a long list of rhetoricians and philosophers.

The interest in Gaza now shifts from its political fortunes to its religious beliefs. The city became a veritable storm center in the struggle between heathendom and the new faith, Christianity. It has been noted above that the first messenger of the Gospel to Gaza was Philip; [42] and tradition asserts that the first bishop of the city was Philemon, the same to whom Paul indited an epistle.[43] This would indicate that Christianity was introduced into Gaza shortly after the death of Jesus and the dispersion of the apostles and evangelists. But its progress at best was slow. The importance of Gaza in this connection cannot be overestimated. Jerome [44] ranks the temple of Marnas, the chief local deity, next to that of Serapis, the famous god of Egypt. The struggle was long and bitter; and in the course of it Gaza added not a few to the list of early Christian martyrs.

The names of a number of the bishops of Gaza have been preserved, among them those of Sylvanus,[45] who in 285 suf-

fered martyrdom; Asclepas,[46] who was removed in 341 for his anti-Arian tendencies, Quintian[47] being appointed the same year in his stead; Irenios,[48] who was present at the council of Antioch in 363; Porphyrius,[49] who succeeded in closing the heathen temples of the city (395); also Natiras,[50] Cyrillus, Marcianus, and, during the last quarter of the fifth century, one Enos.[51] The struggle developed a number of keen advocates of both Christianity and philosophy in the city, among the former being Procopius, Choricius, Johannes, and Irenaeus; and among the latter, Proclus, Olympianus, and Isidorus.[52]

The first Christian martyr of Gaza whose name is known is the bishop Sylvanus,[53] who met his death in 285. In 293, the ninth year of Diocletian,[54] persecutions of the Christians broke out afresh; in the following year, Timotheus, Agapus, and Thecla suffered martyrdom at Gaza; and in the same year, Alexander, a young Christian of the city, was beheaded at Cæsarea for professing his faith.[55] In 299 the Christians who had assembled at Gaza to hear the Scriptures read were seized and mutilated;[56] and from 303 to 310 persecutions were continuous throughout the Roman Empire.

The official recognition of Christianity by the emperor Constantine (321) gave the new faith but little prestige in this stronghold of Hellenism and philosophy. Gaza was represented by its own bishop at the council of Nice (325);[57] but the citizens generally remained true to their native gods. The inhabitants of the harbor city, Maioumas, at this time went over to Christianity in a body (331); and out of respect to this change of faith, it was made an independent bishopric and renamed "Constantia" in honor of the emperor's sister.[58] Julian the Apostate (361) made Constantia, because of its Christian character, again tributary to Gaza; but on his death its independence was restored.[59] The rivalry of the two places, bound together by all ties and common interests, became most intense. Every one took sides; and for years to come Hellenism maintained itself in the city of Gaza.

In the controversy between Arian and Athanasius, the bishop

of Gaza, Asclepas,[60] took sides with the latter. For this and because of an accusation of having destroyed an altar, he was deposed by the Arian party, and Quintian was appointed in his stead (341). Asclepas was accused at the synod of Tyre of false teaching; and at the synod of Sardis he with Athanasius and Marcellus was brought to trial. The charges were dismissed and Asclepas was restored to his bishopric. The Christian church west of the city was generally attributed to the zeal of this bishop for building.[61]

Important at this time, too, was the settlement of the ascetic Hilarion, the first of his kind, in the neighborhood of Gaza, between the sea and the swamps, just off the highroad to Egypt. Hilarion had been born at Tabatha, a village about five miles from Gaza, had received a splendid education at Alexandria, and had then gone to Antonius in the desert for further instruction. Returning to his home, he distributed his goods, and betook himself to a solitary life, near Maioumas. People flocked to him for advice and aid. He is said to have discredited the heathen deities by working marvelous cures in the name of Christ. A chariot race took place at that time between a pagan driver and a Christian. The Christian won; and his partizans interpreted his success as a victory for the new faith, and took up the cry, "Marnas victus a Christo est." (Marnas has been conquered by Christ.) The example of Hilarion was followed by many others; and in a brief space of time the neighborhood of Gaza was filled with hermitages.[62]

But a reaction was bound to come in the very constitution of things against this excess of religious zeal. The accession of Julian the Apostate (361) gave the looked-for opportunity. The citizens of Gaza brought suit against the inhabitants of Maioumas for the restoration of the harbor to the city. The case was tried before Julian, and awarded to the plaintiffs. The two cities were to have but one civil government, though ecclesiastically they remained separate. The bishop of Gaza tried in vain to assert his authority over the city of Maioumas.[63] About the same time many of the her-

mitages of the adjacent desert were destroyed and their inhabitants were murdered. Hilarion mysteriously disappeared.[64]

While in this state of excitement the people gave way to the maddest excesses. The mob seized three Christian brothers, Eusebius, Nestabis, and Zeno, who had been thrown into prison, dragged them through the streets of the city, beheaded them, and burned their bodies in the place outside the city used for the disposal of dead animals. Their cousin Nestor was saved from a similar fate by the compassion which his beauty awakened in the hearts of his persecutors; but he did not survive the maltreatment to which he was subjected. The governor imprisoned some of the townspeople for these outrages; and for so doing was removed by Julian, who held that he had no right to arrest citizens for "merely retaliating upon a few Galileans injuries that had been inflicted by them and their gods."[65] The "Chronicon Paschale"[66] records that under Julian old men and young girls were killed, and their mangled remains thrown to the beasts. And Gregory Nazienzen,[67] writing about this time, asks, with reference to these horrors, "Who does not know of the madness of the Gazæans?" The death of Julian (363) put an end to these violent outbreaks, and a reaction followed. The martyrs of the preceding years were now greater in their deaths than in their lives: churches were erected over their remains, and miracles were supposed to have been worked by their intervention.[68] Cloisters were rebuilt by the disciples of Hilarion, and the solitary places swarmed more than ever with hermits and ascetics.[69]

In 363 Irenius was bishop of Gaza, and represented the city in the council of Antioch.[70] During his term of office, the episcopal mansion was built; also a church, known as that of the Irenes, and so designated either from the name of the builder or because that section of Gaza was called Irene after the capture of the city by Alexander.[71] It is worthy of note that at this time all the churches of the East except that at Jerusalem were in the hands of the Arians.[72] The year 382 is interesting as marking the date of the visit

to Gaza of Paula, the first Christian pilgrim, *i.e.* the first person to visit the country because of its religious (Christian) associations. She was accompanied by Jerome, who left a narrative of the trip — an ecstatic idealization of the religiosity and virtue of Paula rather than a sober account of places visited and events witnessed.[73]

The accession of Theodosius I. (379), or, more exactly, his conversion and baptism in the following year, marked a more rigorous policy in the suppression of the old faith and a corresponding extension of the new. The destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391 sent many into the Christian fold. Only a few heathen shrines remained; and of those by far the most important and influential was that of Marnas at Gaza. Jerome wrote to Læta,[74] "Now that Serapis has become Christian, Marnas, shut up in his temple, deplores his solitude, and tremblingly awaits the time when they will come to destroy him also." At this time the Christian community of Gaza was small [75] (about two hundred and eighty assembled at a festival), poor, and without influence; Christians were not allowed to hold office; and the church was insignificant.[76] But in the year 395 there came to Gaza as its bishop, Porphyry, who was destined to change the course of affairs. A drought which occurred at the time of his entrance to the city was ascribed by the heathens to his presence. Their prayers to Marnas and their sacrifices availed nothing. Under the guidance of their bishop, the Christians retired to their church, west of Gaza, and offered prayers,[77] but on attempting to return to the city, were shut out by the citizens. When, however, rain fell, as it was believed in answer to the Christians' prayers, a number of persons were converted; [78] the gates were opened; and the people cried: "Christ alone is God! He has conquered." Some time after this event, the Christians carried a dead body into the city, which was contrary to Gazæan custom,[79] the burial-place being without the walls. This offended the townspeople, who attacked the Christians. Thereupon the "Defensor Populi" ("defender of the people"), with the Ire-

narchæ ("police captains"), and two "primores" (senators), reproved the Christians for their behavior.[80] For their brave participation in this matter Barochas and Marcus were made deacons.[81]

Porphyry sent his trusted deacon Marcus[82] to Constantinople and obtained from the emperor a decree closing the temples of Gaza.[83] Hilarius came to the city with Christian police from Azotus and Askelon; the temples were closed; and the consultation of their oracles was forbidden[84] (398). Idolatry did not cease, however: the oracles were still consulted, though surreptitiously, for permitting which Hilarius was said to have received a large amount of gold.[85] The Christians were still persecuted; and Porphyry therefore determined on further measures. He went to Cæsarea, consulted with the archbishop John, and both of them set out for Constantinople (401). Through the offices of Amantius, the chamberlain, they were presented to the empress Eudoxia.[86] They prophesied for her the birth of a son; and the empress vowed a church for Gaza if the prophecy should be fulfilled. The promised son was born; and, true to her word, Eudoxia interceded with the emperor for a rescript closing the Gazæan temples. For reasons of state the emperor hesitated to grant the request. "Though the city is idolatrous," he said, "it is peaceful, and pays its taxes regularly. If it is disturbed, it is to be feared that its inhabitants will desert it and its trade be ruined." He therefore suggested mild means for winning the city to Christianity.[87] The rescript was obtained from the emperor at the baptism of his infant son, being issued as the first decree of the new prince.[88] Before the bishops left Constantinople, Eudoxia provided them with funds for building a church and a hospice in Gaza; and the emperor added gifts on his own account.[89]

The enforcement of the decree was intrusted to Cynegius,[90] who arrived at Gaza ten days after the bishop, with a force of soldiers and a body of civil officers. When the order for closing the temples was read, the citizens protested; but the

soldiers carried out the imperial commands [91] and proceeded to destroy the eight temples of Gaza; viz., those of the Sun, Venus, Apollo, Koré (Proserpina), Hecate, the Tychaeon, the Hiereion, and the Marneion.[92] They were aided by the Christians and the sailors. The fiercest opposition was encountered at the Marneion, where the priests blocked the entrance with large stones. Seeing, however, that their defense was vain, they buried the temple treasures and escaped.[93] The Marneion was then burned; [94] it took ten days to complete the destruction of all the temples.[95] Naturally many conversions followed these events.[96] After the site of the Marneion had been purified, a cruciform church was built on it out of the funds furnished by Eudoxia, after whom it was named the Eudoxiana.[97] Its construction was intrusted by Porphyry to the architect Rufinus. The church was dedicated on Easter Day,[98] 406. The courtyard of the church was paved with stones taken from the Marneion, and the women of Gaza refused to walk in it because of their strong attachment to the old cult.[99] Stones were also taken from the mound Aldioma, a place associated with heathen practices, from outside the city for the building of the Christian church.[100] Even now the Christian conquest of the city was not complete; for persecutions continued, though with diminishing force and frequency.[101] Porphyry died in 419 or 420.[102] Gaza is given a prominent place in the famous medeba mosaic map, which is generally assigned to this century.[102a]

In 431, at the council of Ephesus, the bishop of Gaza, Nestorias, supported Juvenalis of Jerusalem, who was accused of certain irregularities of ecclesiastical practice. After the council of Chalcedon (451), during this very troublous period, Peter Iberus [103] was appointed bishop of Gaza and Maioumas by the Alexandrian party. Toward the end of the fifth century Enos (Æneas) was bishop of Gaza. He had been a Platonist, a disciple of Hierocles, but was afterwards converted to Christianity. He wrote a dialogue entitled "Theophrastus," in defense of the dogma of bodily resurrection.[104] In 485 died Proclus

(b. 412), a Neo-Platonist. He was a disciple of Olympiodorus at Alexandria, and a fellow-student of Ulpianus, also of Gaza. In his hymns Proclus celebrated the various Greek deities, and also the Gazaean Marnas.[105]

The time of Justinian, coincident with that of the bishop Marcianus, was one of the brilliant periods in the history of Gaza. The imperial troops once occupied the city on the occasion of an uprising of the Samaritan [106] inhabitants of the district, and the townspeople were greatly disturbed thereby. The bishop stepped into the breach, and settled the affair by organizing a militia to which the matters in dispute were referred. The imperial troops were withdrawn, and peace was restored. When the schools at Athens were closed by order of Justinian (529), those of Gaza still continued their activities; and the Neo-Platonists taught there till the end of the sixth century.

Marcianus by his numerous building activities made Gaza a place of great beauty and splendor. He was a native of the city, of prominent family, and educated in the schools of the poets and the rhetoricians, especially in that of his compatriot Procopius. One of his brothers was the civil head of Gaza, and other brothers held positions of trust in Philistia.[107] He rebuilt the wall of Gaza and provided it with towers and a moat;[108] completed the stoa and the bath;[109] restored the Church of the Apostles, which stood near the market-place, and a smaller one situated at fifty stadia without the city; probably that of the martyr Timotheus;[110] and erected several new churches, among which those of Stephen the Protomartyr and of St. Sergius were the most important.[111]

The dedication of these various buildings furnished occasions for brilliant festivals, to which the interest which had centered in the old heathen games was transferred. Of course, the revolting features pertaining to the Circenses were omitted as were also the pantomimes which had been forbidden by Anastasius I. (438 518). Deputations from other towns honored the festivities.[112] The city was decorated, and illuminated at night; and as at all such affairs in the Orient, a lively trade

was carried on. The fairs of Gaza were famed throughout Palestine.[113] The theaters were crowded by those anxious to hear the orations of the scholars and the addresses of the rhetoricians. In this way the new faith took over the outer trappings of the old cult, and wrought all the forces of the life and culture of the times to its own advancement and stability.

Christian funerary inscriptions of this period have been found in numbers, dating from 505 to 609.[114] Till 539 the names of the bishops of Gaza were preserved in the records of the council of Jerusalem.[115] In 541 a council was held at Gaza, which was attended by Pelagius, the first pope of that name, then a deacon, who came as an envoy from Rome with an order from Justinian for the deposition of Paul, bishop of Alexandria. The order was carried out by the council.[116]

There are no traces of an active literary life in the early part of the Hellenistic period at Gaza; on the other hand, literary activities concentrated themselves there during its closing years. During the reigns of Anastasius I. and Justinian a whole galaxy of names prominent in poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy is met with. In the fourth century, according to the "Totius Orbis Descriptio," Gaza was famed for its school of rhetoric, which at that time was the basis of all higher education. There were no professional schools in the city as at Cæsarea; and philosophy was hardly more than apologetic or polemic, as the person was for or against Christianity. The former are to be described as "Christian Sophists" rather than as philosophers, for the union of the Church with Neo-Platonism was made here early. Poetry never reached a very high standard in local circles. The rhetoricians of Gaza, who were numerous and representative in their art, excelled in laudatory addresses, delivered in the theaters on great occasions, in which the emperor, the military commander, the civil dignitaries, or the bishop were extolled. Eulogies of the dead were common; but there was little or no judicial or legal oratory.

The first well-known rhetorician of Gaza was Zosimus, who lived during the reign of Anastasius I. He composed a com-

mentary on Demosthenes and Lysias, and an alphabetical "Rhetorical Lexicon." Toward the end of the fifth century lived Isidor Gazaeus, a friend and disciple of Proclus. He was a Neo-Platonist, and head of the school at Athens after the death of Marinus.[117] When the schools were closed in 529, Isidorus together with many others went into voluntary exile into Persia; but when a more liberal policy obtained at home they all returned. Isidorus's activity is connected more with Athens than with his native city. He is to be differentiated from another Isidorus, the theurgist. Commodian of Gaza, a rhetorician and poet, flourished during the middle of the sixth century.[117a] Though born in Gaza, he spent the greater part of his life at Arles, in southern France. He had first been converted to Judaism, but later went over to Christianity, and became one of its zealous advocates. He was what we might term a "lay brother," technically known as an *ascetic*. A few fragments of his writings have been preserved and have recently been edited by Brewer.[118]

The most prominent as well as the most influential of the Gazæan school was Procopius, who was born at the end of the fifth century. He spent the greater part of his life in his native city, except a short period at Cæsarea, where he went to compete for a great prize. He was a prominent Christian apologete, and had much intercourse with the rhetoricians of Tyre, Antioch, and Egypt. He collected a great library, and his panegyrics were later used as models of their kind. He wrote extensive commentaries on parts of the Old Testament as well as a rhetoric about the year 520. His works include a commentary on Isaiah,[119] scholia on Kings,[120] and explanations of the Proverbs of Solomon;[121] sixty of his letters, none of them of any great import, are found in a "Collection d'épîtres" issued by Aldus, Venice, 1499. What little is known of him is garnered from the eulogy pronounced on him by his disciple Choricius. An older contemporary of Procopius was Æneas, the Platonist, who later embraced Christianity and became bishop of Gaza. Choricius was a native of Gaza and the most brilliant of his master's

disciples and successors. He was little of a philosopher, but a brilliant word-painter, being able to describe scenes and buildings with marvelous fluency and picturesqueness. He, also, was a convert to Christianity. Choricius wrote a great deal; but few of his compositions have survived to the present day. These have been published by Boissonade.[122] His most important writings were his "Orations," and "Descriptions of Works of Art," which he composed in imitation of the works of Philostratus. There is an inedited manuscript of his works in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Madrid. Of Gazæan poets may be mentioned Timotheus, who flourished at the time of Anastasius I., and who wrote several panegyrics and an epic poem in four books on the natural history of the four-footed beasts of foreign lands.[123] John Gazæus, a contemporary of Procopius, author of a number of anacreontics, and Georgius, the grammarian, another author of anacreontics, complete this brief list of native poetical authors.

Mention is made of Gaza by Theodosius in his "De Terra Sancta"[124] (530), and in the "Notitia Antiochiæ ac Ierosolymae Patriarchatum"[125] of the sixth century, in which reference is made to a suffragan of Gaza. In 570 the city was visited by Antoninus Martyr,[126] who says, "Gaza is a splendid and beautiful city; its men most honest, liberal in every respect, and friendly to the pilgrims." He also mentions Maioumas of Gaza as the resting place of St. Victor, the martyr. These latter mark the beginning of the pilgrim stream which set in thus early and has continued almost up to the present day. From the sixth to the twelfth century Gaza was an episcopal see of the Latin Church.

[1] Cf. *infra*, chapter on *Coins*. [2] v. 4. [3] *Geographia*, i. 11. [4] iv. 6, 7. [5] *Loc. cit.* [6] *Onomastica*, p. 125. [7] Cf. *infra*, inscription of Gordian III. of 238–244 A.D., in which the city is referred to as "sacred, and an asylum and autonomous," *C.I.Gr.* 5892; as well as the lettering on several coins. [8] iii., n. 1904. This inscription was found, curiously enough, in Syria. [9] *Vita Hilarionis.* [10] Marquardt, *Roemische Staats Verwaltung*, i. 429. [11] *B.J.* i. 7, 7; *Ant.* xx. 8, 7. [12] *Ant.* xiii. 13, 3. [13] Cf. Suidas, s.v. *Eutokios.* [14] *Ant.* xix. 6, 3. [15] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*,

cc. 3, 4. [16] *Idem*, c. 12. [17] Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*. [18] *Hist. Eccl.*, v. 3. [19] *Loc. cit.* [20] Marquardt, in Becker, *Roemische Alterthueme*, iii. 388. [21] Marc. Diac., c. 25. [22] Digest, l. 4, 18. [23] Arist., i. 523, quoted by Stark, p. 531, n. 5. [24] Marc. Diac., *loc. cit.* [25] *Vide infra.* [26] *Vide infra*, chapters on *Calendation* and *Inscriptions*. [27] *B.J.* ii. 18, 1. [28] *B.J.* iv. 6; Tacitus, ii. 81. [29] *B.J.* iv. 11, 5. [30] *B.J.* vii. 5, 2. [31] Acts viii. 26. [32] Marc. Diac., *passim*. [33] Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 116; Duerr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 62, 63; Schuerer, *J.P.* i. 2, 295, n. 76. [34] An anonymous chronicle compiled in part from the Paschal canons (rules for the Easter festival) of various towns and districts and containing a summary of events from Adam to the twentieth year of Heraclius, 629. It is sometimes known as *Alexandrinum*, because it was erroneously attributed to a writer of Alexandria. It is sometimes called *Fasti Siculi* because it was found in an old library in Sicily, whence it was taken to Rome. [35] Section 254. [36] § 32. [37] *Loc. cit.*, 20. [38] *Revue Archéologique*, July-Aug., 1899, series 3, pp. 36 *sqq.* [39] *C.I.Gr.* 5893. [40] *Rev. Arch.*, *loc. cit.* [41] See below, section on *Inscriptions*. [42] Acts viii. 26. [43] Cf. *E.B.*, s.v. *Philemon*. [44] *Epistola ad Lætam*. [45] Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiqstica*, viii. 13, 4-5. [46] Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxix. 4; Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, ii. pp. 259, 262. It is interesting to note that both Sylvanus and Asclepas are referred to as "bishop of the churches round about Gaza" (*loc. cit.*). This shows that the Christian community in Gaza was very small, and that the pagan element was so strong as to forbid the presence of a bishop in the town. Harnack, *ibid.* [47] Sozomen, *H.E.* ii. 8. [48] *Idem*, vi. 4. [49] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.* [50] All the names of the bishops appear to be Græco-Roman except this one, which is Semitic. Cf. בצירא; also בצר־אל in Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, Text, *s.v.*, where he cites also ναταρηλος, Wadd. 2351. It may be the Semitic equivalent of ἐπισκοπος, "a bishop." [51] Names of many of the bishops of Gaza are found in the records of the council of Jerusalem up to 536. Schaff, s.v. *Gaza*. [52] Cf. *infra*. [53] Schaff-Herzog, *A Religious Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Gaza*. [54] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*, iv. ch. xxxviii. [55] *Idem*, *Martyrs of Palestine*, ch. iii. [56] *Idem*, ch. viii. [57] Harnack, *op. cit.*, p. 259, n. 5. [58] Euseb., *Life of Const.*, iv. 38. [59] Sozomen, *op. cit.*, v. 9. [60] Sozomen, *op. cit.*, ii. 8. [61] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*, c. 20. [62] Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*. [63] Sozomen, v. 3. [64] *Idem*, v. 10. According to some reports, he migrated to Sicily. [65] Sozomen, v. 9. [66] § 295. [67] Oratio 3, *in Julianum*. [68] Sozomen, v. 7, 8. [69] *Idem*, vii. 31. [70] *Idem*, vi. 4. [71] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*, c. 18. [72] Sozomen, vii. 2. [73] *Pilgrimage of Holy Paula*, by Jerome. [74] *Epistola ad Lætam*. [75] Harnack, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 262. [76] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*, c. 40. [77] *Idem*, c. 20. [78] *Ibid.*, c. 21. [79] *Ibid.*, c. 23. [80] *Ibid.*, c. 25. [81] *Ibid.* [82] The same that later wrote the excellent history of Porphyry's life, which remains to this day one of the most important documents for the history of Gaza, and of this whole period of the contest between Christianity and Paganism. [83] *Ibid.*, c. 26. [84] *Ibid.*, cc. 23–31. [85] *Ibid.*, c. 32; Jerome, *Epist. ad Laetam*. [86] Marc. Diac., *op cit.*,

cc. 32, 34, 38, 39. [87] Lasaulx, *Untergang d. Hellenismus*, pp. 116 *sqq.* [88] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*, cc. 43, 50. [89] *Ibid.*, cc. 53, 54. [90] *Ibid.*, c. 51. [91] *Ibid.*, cc. 63, 64. [92] For details, cf. *infra*. [93] Marc. Diac., *op. cit.*, c. 65. [94] *Ibid.*, cc. 69, 70. [95] *Ibid.*, c. 65. [96] *Ibid.*, c. 72. [97] *Ibid.*, cc. 66, 76. [98] *Ibid.*, cc. 78, 92. [99] *Ibid.*, c. 76. [100] *Ibid.*, c. 92. [101] *Ibid.*, cc. 95–100. [102] *Ibid.*, c. 103. [102a] *R.B.*, Apr., 1897; 1892, i. 617–644; *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1897, pp. 213 *sqq.*, 1898, pp. 85, 177 *sqq.*; *J.Q.R.*, xiii. 251. [103] Chabot, *Pierre, l' Iberien, évêque de Gaza:* see also the Syriac version of his life, edited by Richard Raabe, Leipzig, 1893, with translation, "*Petrus der Iberer.*" [104] Chastel, *Histoire de la destruction du paganisme dans l'empire d'Orient*, p. 269. [105] Marinus, *Vita Procli.* [106] A word or two as to the settlement of this peculiar sect in Gaza. A complete history is impossible because of the meagerness of the records, and because it would lead far afield from the subject of this investigation, belonging rather to a history of the Samaritans in Palestine. cf. Montgomery "The Samaritans," Philadelphia, 1907. It is remarkable how this little sect spread all over Palestine and even into Egypt. There are records of the Samaritans in Gaza from the fourth to the seventeenth century. According to the Samaritan Chronicle of the High Priest Eleazar (Heidenheim, *Vierteljahrschrift*, iv. 362; Neubauer, *Samaritan Chronicle*), the territory of Palestine and other parts of Syria and Egypt were assigned to various Samaritan families at the time of Baba the Great (end of 4th cent.). That extending from Gaza to the River of Egypt was given to Israel ben Machir, and Shalum was assigned to it as priest; the territory from Carmel to Gaza to Laib ben Becher, with Joseph as its priest. All the Samaritans who settled at Gaza were of the tribe of Benjamin, except Mouzaf ben Mitpalel, of the tribe of Ephraim. The martyr, Paul of Gaza (300 circa), before his death at Caesarea, prays for the Samaritans of his native town, together with the other non-christian population. (Montgomery, p. 149, n. 25: Euseb., *Martyrs of Palestine*, viii. 9.) There were many Samaritans at Gaza in the seventh century (*Collectanea Historia Samaritanæ* of Christopher Cellarius, 1687). After the Moslem conquest, 634 A.D., the Samaritans of Gaza deposited their property with their high priest and fled to the east. (Chronicle of abû'l Fath; Montgomery, p. 127.) In 943, Masudi, the historian, in his *Meadows of Gold* probably referred to the Samaritans of Gaza. (Montgomery, p. 135, n. 35.) Circa 1137, the five hundred Samaritans who had been captured at Schechem by Bazawash, governor of Damascus, were redeemed by a co-religionist of Acco. Many of these settled in Gaza. (Montgomery, p. 132.) This colony was mentioned by many writers, among them Petrus della Valle (1616) and Richard Simon in his supplement to R. Leo Mantinensis's book, *De Ritibus Judæorum;* also in a letter written by a Samaritan to Scaliger (1590). In 1674, the Samaritans living at Gaza addressed a letter to Robert Huntington, who was deeply interested in their literature and religion. (Montgomery, p. 6.)

Among the prominent Samaritans at Gaza were Ab Galug (11th century), a philanthropist, who rebuilt the Samaritan temple there, and also that at Si

don (Adler and Seligsohn, *Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine*, p. 96); and a certain Selemiah ben Phineas, who came to Gaza and settled there, a man of ascetic tendencies, and something of an exhorter (*Ibid.*, pp. 104, 105). The poet Matuah of the family of Bel'abar Benjamin was a resident of Gaza. He married a descendant of the above-mentioned Mouzaf, and had five children by her (*c.* 1137) (Neubauer, pp. 65, 73). A son of Joseph ben Baraḳ ben Abraham of the sons of Na'in, and Joseph ben Ḥelef ben Abraham, father of the sons of Ḥofni, are also mentioned as prominent members of the local Samaritan colony (*Ibid.*, p. 77). One of the most prominent families of the colony was that of the sons of Rumaiḥ of whom numerous traces are found in the city after 600 A.H. (= 1203 A.D.). A copy of the Samaritan targum to the Pentateuch which was written in Gaza in 761 A.H. (= 1359–60) was given by Jacob ben Yatronah of the Benai-Fuḳah to his wife Simḥah, daughter of Abraham of the Benai-Rumaiḥ in 797 A.H. (= 1394–95); and the Samaritan Pentateuch of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, which was written 608 A.H. (1211–12), was bought at the end of the ninth century A.H. (*c.* 1494) from Shet of the Benai-Rumaiḥ of Damascus, by מתותיה of Shechem, who had bought it of Sa'adah ben 'Abdallah of Gaza in 801 A.H. (= 1398–99) (Z.A., xvi. p. 91). The west suburb of the city, often called Harat es-Sumârâ, was no doubt the part of the city inhabited by the colony. Meshullam of Volterra (Luncz, *Jerusalem*, iii. 50), who visited Gaza in 1481, says there were but four Samaritan families residing in the city at that time. Clermont-Ganneau (*Arch. Researches*, ii. 420 *sqq.*) reports the finding of a Samaritan liturgical inscription at Gaza, but does not produce it either in the original character or in translation. Abel also reports a fragment of a decalogue in the Samaritan script of the Mohammedan period. (*R.B.*, 1906, p. 84: Montgomery, p. 277.) No mention of the colony is found in modern times. [107] Choricius, *Orationes*, p. 45. [108] *Ibid.*, 111. [109] *Ibid.*, 23. [110] *Ibid.*, 112. [111] For detailed descriptions of these edifices, cf. Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 626–630. [112] Choricius, *loc. cit.*, p. 124. [113] Talmud Yerushalmi, *'Abodah Zarah*, i. 39 d. [114] Cf. *infra*, where these are discussed. [115] Cf. *supra*, where the names of these bishops are inserted in the text at their proper places. [116] Smith, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, s.v. *Gaza*. [117] *Le Grand Dictionnaire Universel*, s.v. [117a] Older scholars have assigned Commodian to the third century, but Brewer (see below) has settled this moot question. (*T.L.Z.*, 1907, no. 3, p. 80.) [118] Heinrich Brewer, *Kommodian von Gaza*, in *Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte*, 1906, vi. pts. 1 and 2. [119] Greek and Latin, Paris, 1580. [120] Four vols., Latin, Leyden, 1670. [121] MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. [122] Paris, 1846. [123] For all these authors, consult Stark, *op. cit.* [124] Tobler, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana*, Theodosius, *De Terra Sancta*, § 23. [125] *Ibid.* [126] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER VIII

THE MOSLEM CONQUEST

634–1049

GAZA from the earliest times had had relations of more or less intimacy with the Arabs of the Arabian peninsula. They had always resorted to it, rather than to Hebron, had there sold their plunder, and had also carried on their legitimate business by means of its harbor and its market. It has been aptly called "the port of the desert." The Minaeans, an Arab tribe, always looked upon Gaza as their headquarters, and disposed of their precious incense there. In fact, Gaza must be considered an Arab city from the earliest times. The name *Minoa*, by which Stephen of Byzantium says it was also known, and which he connected with the name of the Cretan hero Minos, points rather to its association with the Minaeans, who were in all probability its first inhabitants. A few references to the city are found in the Minaean inscriptions. The relations between the city and the surrounding tribesmen must have been close and cordial, otherwise, its chief source of trade would have been cut off. Indeed, the hostility of their Arab neighbors would have made life for the people of Gaza very precarious. The capture of the city by the Arabs under the impetus of their missionary faith was largely in the nature of a reconquest by a related people. Thoroughly Hellenized as Gaza must have been, there was yet ever present a substratum of its Semitic descent and ideas. The very worship of Marnas must have presented to the minds of the Gazaeans this dual personality of Hellenist superimposed on Semite.

With the intuition of the greatest military genius,[1] the Arabs set out to secure Gaza and the coast of Palestine even before

securing Egypt. As the hordes issued forth from their native deserts, they were confronted by the old city with its commanding site and strong fortifications, which offered itself as the first-fruits of their extra-Arabian conquests. In 634 Gaza, though defended by Heraclius's army which was gathered there under the general Patricius, fell an easy prey to 'Amr ibn el-'Âs. Here it should be stated that the city had no doubt shared the fate of the rest of Palestine and Syria, and fallen into the hands of the Persians under Chosroes, 611–614. The country remained under their rule for ten years, when it was won back by the Byzantines; but their enjoyment of the fruits of their conquest was destined to be short-lived. In the time of the Jahiliyyah[2] — *i.e.* before 622 — Omar ibn Khattâb, who afterward became calif, lived and grew rich in Gaza, which was a great market for the people of the Ḥijâz.[3] Reference is also found to the presence of the family of the Prophet in Gaza in earlier times. The tomb of Sidna Hâshim is still shown, he having died at Gaza while on one of his mercantile expeditions.[4] According to Ṭabarî,[5] Hâshim was a son of 'Abd Munâf and the father of 'Abd al-Muṭallib, uncle of the Prophet. General tradition has it that Hâshim was the great-grandfather of Mohammed. It would thus appear that there must have been a considerable Arabian colony in Gaza at the time, and to this fact may be attributed the easy victory which the Arabs gained.

Balâdhurî[6] states that all the country from the Ḥijâz to Arabah fell into the hands of the Arabs without any opposition whatsoever. Gaza had premonitions of its fate at the hands of the Arabs. Ibn Ḥarb[7] tells the following story. "There was strife between Mohammed and the merchants, because he had reduced us to the last extremity. Then, when a truce was made between the Prophet and ourselves, we did not believe that we should enjoy perfect amnesty. So I and a body of Ḳuraish merchants set out for Syria, Gaza being the goal of our expedition. We came to Gaza just when Heraclius had gained his victory over the Persians (624–628) who were in his land. He had driven them out of his land, and he had recaptured from

them the large cross of which they had robbed him." The re-Arabization of the city began long before the Moslem conquest. The arrival of so large a colony of foreigners must have been looked upon as ominous by the Byzantine rulers. For the present discussion the movement is interesting as evidence of a general Arabic migration, which found its greatest manifestation in the conquest of the Mediterranean world.

This battle at Gaza, which took place in the califate of Abû Bîkr, was, as stated above, the first conflict between the Arabs and the Byzantines. 'Amr ibn el-Âs advanced against Syria and camped at Tadûn, a village of the province of Gaza, on the side which looks toward the Ḥijâz.[8] This Tadûn must have been on the south, and cannot be identified with the modern Tîda, somewhat to the north of Gaza, which has been accepted as the site of the ancient Anthedon. Here he received the news that an army of Heraclius was gathered at Gaza, and that Heraclius himself was at Damascus. It would seem that 'Amr was afraid to proceed, and wrote to Abû Bîkr for aid. Khâlid ibn Walîd was sent to his assistance; and the two advanced against the city. Before giving battle, Patricius, who was in command of the Byzantine forces, sent for a legate with whom to carry on negotiations.[9] Abû Sufyân [10] states that he was in Gaza during these proceedings; but he gives no further details or side-lights. He merely states that the Sâḥib al-Shurṭa, the captain of the guard, came before the ruler and told him all about the Prophet. Eutychius [11] and al-Makîn [12] state that the legate was none other than 'Amr himself. During these proceedings 'Amr found himself in great danger, and would have been killed but for the presence of mind of his freedman, Wardân.[13] The parley was unsuccessful, and the battle followed. The general account is that the battle took place at Gaza itself. Balâdhurî [14] states that the first fight took place at Dâthin, near Gaza; he probably refers to the above-mentioned Tadûn which 'Amr used as his base. He quotes also a divergent opinion that this battle took place at Arabah. Tabarî [15] gives an interesting variant, to the effect that 'Alkama ibn Mujazziz besieged Fikar

ibn Natus, a general of Heraclius in Gaza. The name "Fikar" is probably a corruption of Patricius; and that no later event is referred to is proved by the mention of the emperor Heraclius. No other source, however, mentions 'Alkama ibn Mujazziz or a siege of the city. On the contrary, the victory of the Arabs is represented as a very easy one. The Christians were driven back, and the Moslems entered the city. The latter converted the church into a mosque; and, naturally, the greater part of the city became Mohammedan. From this time onward the Christians of Gaza became a negligible quantity, and the place was noted for the number of prominent Moslems it produced. The citizens who remained faithful to Christianity were subjected to a poll-tax; and for the security of the city and to hasten its conversion to Islam, a military colony of Arabs was planted in Gaza. In 672 the city was visited by an earthquake,[16] but details of its effects are wanting.

A brief notice in the itinerary of St. Willibald,[17] who visited the city on his journey through the Holy Land, 723-726, is interesting, as it shows that the Christians[18] still maintained their house of worship in the city. He relates that he heard mass at Gaza at the Church of St. Matthias; but when and by whom this church was built is unknown. St. Willibald also chronicles the fact that he lost his eyesight at Gaza. This is unusually interesting, for even to-day the inhabitants of Gaza suffer greatly from diseases of the eye,[19] so much so as to be noticeable in a country where such affections are general. St. Willibald may have been affected by the prevalent eye diseases of the country, which finally resulted in his blindness.

The interminable internecine conflicts, whose story forms the chief interest of these early centuries of Arabian rule, affected the fate of Gaza individually but little one way or the other. Each change of dynasty was followed by a new set of local officers, new taxes, and a new conscription. Not only was the country torn by the rival claims of aspirants for political power and preference, but the multiplication of Moslem sects, many of them with decided political aspects, only added

to the existing confusion. Naturally the Byzantines also made efforts to restore themselves to power in this territory; but they never again penetrated as far south as Gaza.

Under the rule of Yezîd III. (744) there was a revolt in Palestine. His brother Ibrâhîm succeeded in keeping himself in power for a few months; but he was unseated in the following year by Merwân II. There was, however, no cessation of the disturbances which upset Syria from end to end. Finally, in 750, Merwân was himself defeated by the Abbassids at the battle of Zâb; and the center of Mohammedan power was transferred to Bagdad. Again, in 780–781, 'Aḥmed ibn Ṭulûn, governor of Egypt, conquered the whole of Syria. The close of the eighth century found Gaza wasted as a result of the constantly recurring conflicts.

In 767 Mohammed ibn Idris al-Shaffi'i, founder of one of the four orthodox schools of the Sunnites, was born at Gaza. He was of the Ḳuraish, probably a descendant of the company of Ḳuraish merchants which had settled in that city before its capture. He lived till manhood with the Bedouin tribe of the Beni-Hudhail, from whom he acquired his pure classical Arabic. In 786 he went to Medina and listened to the teachings of Mâlik. Because of his intrigues with the 'Alid party, he was summoned to the court of the calif Hârûn at Raḳka. While there, he attended the lectures of Mohammed al-Shaibânî. In 804 he went to Egypt and met with a favorable reception there. Later he returned to Bagdad and was quite successful in the teaching of his particular doctrine. He returned to Egypt in 813, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and died at Old Cairo in 820. Of the one hundred and nine works he published none are now extant, except a few as yet unpublished manuscripts scattered about in the libraries of Cairo, Constantinople, Leyden, and Berlin.[20] He founded what is known as the Eclectic School of jurisprudence. He attempted to fuse the historical school of Mâlik and the speculative and more philosophical teaching of Abû Hanifah.[21]

Bernard, "the wise," who visited the city in 867, described it as "rich in all things." In 985 Mukaddasi [22] writes of Gaza, that it was one of the chief cities of the district of Filastîn, whose capital was at al-Ramleh. (There were then six districts in Syria under the rule of the Fâtimite sovereigns of Egypt.) Gaza, together with the rest of Palestine, had given its allegiance in turn to the Ommiads (*c.* 661–750), to the Abbassids, to the Fâtimites (who gained the upper hand in 969), and (to anticipate) finally to the Seljuks (1086), who supplanted all the minor dynasties that had sprung up. At the time of Mukaddasi, Gaza was still a large town, prominent in the Egyptian caravan trade, and famed for its fine mosque and a monument to Omar (no longer existing). The same author speaks of an interesting institution known as "ribât." This was a system of protective towers along the coast. The Byzantines used to come to these towers in ships for the purpose of redeeming captives. When a ship arrived at one of these stations, it was signaled to the capital by means of a chain of beacons. The captives were redeemed at the rate of three for one hundred dinars. Gaza was one of the seven coast stations at which this ransoming took place.

Gaza played a very minor part in the history of these times. It was passed back and forth, very much as it had been in the days of the rivalry of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidae. In 1047 the traveler Nasir-i-Khusrau passed through the city from Askelon on his way to Egypt. Only a few Arabic writers came from Gaza. Prominent among them may be mentioned the poet, Abû Ishâk Ibrâhîm ibn Yahyâ al-Kalbî al-Ghazzî, born in 1049. He went to Damascus in 1088 and studied law under the famous jurisconsult Nasr al-Makdisi. Later he went to Bagdad and studied in the Nizamiyya college, meanwhile composing elegies and panegyrics. He found much more appreciation in Khurâsân, to which place he later migrated. He collected the best of his poems in a volume containing some five thousand lines. He traveled a

great deal during the closing years of his life, and died in 1130 on the road between Merv and Balkh, being buried in the latter place.[23]

[1] Cf. Napoleon's opinion of the strategic value of Gaza. [2] *I.e.* the "Time of Ignorance," the term applied by Arabic authors to pre-Mohammedan times, which had not the benefit of the new revelation found in the Koran. [3] Al-Ishtakhrî, p. 58; Ibn Haukal, p. 113, quoted by Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems.* [4] Ibn Saad, ed. E. Mittwoch, pp. 43, 45. [5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1083, 1091. According to Ibn Saad, p. 61, Abdallah, the father of Mohammed, was returning from a caravan trip to Gaza when he died in Medina. [6] Page 109, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1866. [7] Quoted by Tabarî, p. 1561. [8] Eutychius, *Annales.* Eutychius, known in Arabic as Sa'id ibn al Batrîk (876–939), was a Christian physician. He was born at Old Cairo and was a great student of history. He composed a universal history, called *Nazm el-Jauhar* ("Pearls ranged in order"), which was translated into Latin by E. Pococke. Cf. Huart, *History of Arabic Literature,* p. 187. [9] *Ibid.* [10] Quoted by Tabarî, p. 1563. [11] *Loc. cit.* [12] *History of the Saracens*, p. 12. [13] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 20. [14] p. 109. [15] p. 2396. [16] Ritter, *Erdkunde,* xvi. pp. 45 *sqq.* [17] Tobler, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana.* [18] In dealing with conquered peoples, the Moslem policy was to offer death, tribute, or Islam. Although Christian churches were frequently changed into mosques (cf. The Dome of the Rock of Jerusalem, St. Sophia at Constantinople, and the Great Mosque at Gaza), the policy of the conquerors, except in times of stress, was mild and liberal. The tribute which flowed into the coffers of the Caliphs was not inconsiderable, and the toleration and protection extended to the subject peoples added not a little to the general peace and welfare of their extensive domain. [19] Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria,* s.v. *Gaza.* [20] Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 237 *sqq.* [21] *Ibid.;* also Slane, *Ibn Khallikan,* s.v. [22] *Description of Palestine.* [23] Huart, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 110.

CHAPTER IX

PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES

1096–1300

Barely ten years had elapsed after the establishment of the Seljuk power in Syria when the Crusades began to form, which were to pour a flood of Europeans into the Orient for the next three hundred years. Unfortunately the Seljuks were unable to maintain unity among themselves for any length of time; for after the assassination of the vizier Nizâm al-Mulk (1092) the kingdom was subdivided, and the endless conflicts between the petty rivals to thrones and kingdoms once more plunged Syria and Palestine into the horrors of civil war, and made the Moslems an easy prey to the oncoming Crusaders. The jealousies of the various Moslem rulers enabled the Christians to gain a good foothold in the country and to maintain themselves there for many years. It was not till Jerusalem was captured by the Crusaders (1099) that the Moslems awoke to the realization of the invaders' power.

The First Crusade (1096–99) affected the extreme south of Palestine but little. The farthest point south to which the Christians penetrated was Askelon, at which place they administered a severe defeat to the Egyptians, who retired to their own country. Gaza was thus beyond the range of operations. On the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, Palestine was divided into a number of feudal fiefs. Gaza fell in the territory of the fief of Arsouf.[1] In 1100, as soon as the Christians had firmly established themselves in the land, they advanced to Gaza, and rebuilt the castle on the hill, which they found deserted and fallen

to ruin. They did not restore the commercial importance of the city; for they made Askelon the chief Christian center in Philistia. Nor did they make much of Gaza as a military station, preferring Darom, immediately to the south, as their outpost towards Egypt.

By 1118, under Baldwin II., the European conquests in the East reached their utmost bounds; and in 1136 they were effectually checked by the defeat of the Christians by Zengi. Zengi united the scattered parts of the Moslem power, and at his death bequeathed to his son Nureddîn a powerful kingdom in Mesopotamia and Syria. The capture of Edessa in 1146 by Nureddîn gave rise to the second Crusade (1147–49). This crusade, so fruitless for the Franks, hardly affected Palestine proper. However, Baldwin III. (1143–62) is found restoring part of the wall of Gaza in 1149.[2] His object was to check the Egyptian garrison in the neighborhood, and to put a stop to its almost daily incursions into the territory of the kingdom of Jerusalem and plunderings on the caravan route. The work was carried out by his brother Amaury (Almarich), who practically rebuilt and fortified the city, and then turned it over to the care of the Knights Templars, who erected the Church of St. John the Baptist, the present mosque.[3] The Mohammedan traveler Idrîsî (1154) mentions Gaza as a very populous station and as in the hands of the Crusaders.[4] In March, 1158, the Egyptians, under Dirghâm, won a decided victory over the Franks at or near Gaza.[5] In 1165 a holy war was preached by the Sunnee Califs of Bagdad, and Shirkuh and Saladin, the Kurd, were ordered by their master, Nureddîn, to proceed to Egypt. Shawir, the vizier of Egypt, conveyed information of this to Amaury (1162–73), who sent the Christian army to Gaza to watch the Syrian advance; for the Christians had made an alliance with Egypt.[6]

Saladin soon conquered Egypt, and then turned his attention to Syria. In 1170 he attacked Gaza, and razed part of the city; but he was unable to force the citadel, which was defended by Milon de Plausy. By 1173 Saladin, taking advan-

tage of the dissensions again prevalent among the Christians, had made himself master of Syria also and thus became a serious menace to the little kingdom of Jerusalem. Gaza was visited in 1172 by Theodoric, who states that it was then called "Gazara";[7] but this rests upon an old confusion due to the similarity of the two names.

In a curious communication of the year 1173, addressed by Joubert, Grand Master of the Hospitallers,—which corps of knights had received Gaza from the Templars,[8]—to Meletus the Syrian, of the monastery of St. George, Greek archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis, some interesting facts are preserved. It is related that "Eleutheropolis" was a recent addition to the title of the bishop of Gaza; that at this time the city of Gaza was in the hands of the Moslems; that whenever the Crusaders took a city they replaced the Greek priests with Latins; that many of the Greek priests were serving at Gaza and Jerusalem in menial positions; and, finally, that Meletus, after treating with the Hospitallers for the retention of his monastery for life, affiliated with their order.[9]

In 1187 Saladin administered a severe defeat to the Christians at Kûrn Ḥattîn in Galilee, having been drawn into the conflict by some slight breach of truce by Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. He followed up this victory by the conquest of all Palestine, including Jerusalem. Gaza opened its gates and submitted to his rule.

The Third Crusade (1189-91) followed upon this capture of Jerusalem; and under Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus of France, and Richard Cœur de Lion, the most brilliant of all the conflicts between the Moslem and the Christian in Palestine was waged. The advantages won by the Christians were slight — the permission for pilgrims to visit Jerusalem, and the possession of a narrow strip of the coastland. In 1191, after the capture of Acre, a great part of Saladin's armies having been destroyed, he despaired of being able to defend the other coast cities, among them being Gaza. Richard took and repaired the latter and gave it to the Templars, to whose care

it had formerly been intrusted. But the treaty between Richard and Saladin, concluded when the Crusaders saw there was no chance of their capturing Jerusalem, stipulated that Gaza, among many other places, should be dismantled.[10] The terms of the treaty were carried out; and it is very likely that the great heaps seen to-day about the central eminence of the city represent the old walls of the Crusading period.

Toward the end of the twelfth and at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Gaza was visited by a number of pilgrims; Al-Herewy,[11] Gunther of Paris,[12] who, in his "De Solymariis," speaks of Gaza as "perfida," with reference to the Samson legends, and Abû al-Fidâ,[13] who speaks of it as a city of medium size, with gardens of great extent. He mentions the palms and the vines, and notices the ridge of sand-dunes between the city and the shore. He says that there was a small castle dominating the city. In 1217 the Hebrew poet Al-Ḥarizi also paid the city a visit.[14] A little earlier (*c.* 1200) Amaury, brother of Simon de Montfort, was a prisoner there. In 1222–23, it is recorded that the Emir Sanjâr al-Jâwâly ('Alâm al-Dîn Abû Sa'îd) who was *mukaddam* (ruler) of Syria, inspector of the two Ḥarams, and *nâ'ib* (governor) of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza, built a race-course at the last-named city. He highly favored Gaza, made it a flourishing town again, and built a bath, a mosque, a *madrasah* (college), a khan, a *mâristan* (hospital), and a castle for the city.[15]

The fourth (1201–4) and the fifth (1228–29) crusades added little to the glory of the Christians or to the advancement of the cause of the Cross. Palestine was scarcely affected by them. In 1239 Thibaut I., king of Navarre, who led an abortive expedition to gain a foothold for France in this country, received a severe defeat at the hands of the Moslems near Gaza. His generals, the duke of Burgundy and the count of Bar, by losing the battle, also lost for the Christians all the temporary advantages which Frederick II. had gained by obtaining possession of Jerusalem in 1229.[16] An interesting side light is thrown upon upon the internal affairs of the Christian sects

in Palestine by the following incident. In 1235, Cyril, son of Laklak, Jacobite patriarch of Alexandria, was thrown into prison. In 1239, he was released under certain conditions, among them this: that the metropolitan of Jerusalem, recently appointed by Cyril, should acquire no authority beyond Gaza, which was the boundary of Egyptian authority.[17]

Meanwhile a new power was appearing in the Orient. The Kharezmians, a Tartar tribe from the east of the Caspian Sea, began to devastate Syria in the year 1240. They settled at first in northern Syria, but were driven toward the south, and captured Jerusalem. These wild soldiers had been invited to aid the Egyptians in their wars with the Syrians; and they proved themselves a terrible scourge to all who met them. The Templars and the forces of the Emir Malik al-Manṣûr of Emessa, encountered the combined forces of the Egyptians and their allies at Gaza on Oct. 17, 1244. During the battle the Hospitallers, under Walter of Brienne, count of Jaffa, were on the left; the Templars together with the Patriarch and the Holy Cross, which accompanied them into battle, held the center; and the right was intrusted to the Moslems under Manṣûr. After two days of sharp fighting, the Christians and their allies were completely defeated, being driven back with a loss of about thirty thousand men. Only the Patriarch, the prince of Tyre, three Teutonic Knights, twenty-six Hospitallers, and thirty-three Templars escaped. The Egyptians overran Palestine; and the Kharezmians devastated the Jordan valley and the plains of Askelon.[18]

At about this time (1250) the first Mameluke dynasty was founded in Egypt by Eibek, known also as Al-Malik al-Mu'izz. He had to undergo many conflicts with Malik al-Nâṣir of Damascus, a descendant of Saladin, for the possession of Syria. In August, 1250, Nâṣir besieged Gaza. Eibek sent his general Aḳtai to relieve the city. A victory over the Syrians at 'Abbasa gave the Egyptians courage; and Aḳtai was urged to press the siege. He succeeded in doing this by February, 1251, and turned over Gaza and all the coast of Palestine to

his master Mu'izz.[19] The son of Nâsir, Saladin Yûsuf, had tried to obtain Egypt for his own. He succeeded in obtaining possession of the maritime territory as far as Gaza; but here he was met and defeated by Eibek's forces under Aktai, who compelled him to retreat from Gaza and give up all the coast as far as Nablûs. Hostilities might have continued indefinitely, had not the calif intervened and arranged a peace between the combatants, the attention of all being demanded by the approach of a new and terrible enemy, the Mongols. These had already put an end to the rule of the califs at Bagdad (1253-58) and were now advancing threateningly toward Syria and the South. This led Mu'izz and Nâsir to contract a treaty *uti possidetis* in April, 1253.[20] They had already concluded treaties of peace with their Christian neighbors in 1250;[21] and in 1256 the treaty between the Egyptians and the Syrians was renewed.[22] By 1260 the Mongols under Hūlāgū had penetrated as far as Gaza, devastating the country as they advanced. From Gaza, Hûlâgû sent an embassy to Kutuz, sultan of Egypt, demanding his submission.[23] The sultan cut off the messenger's head, and sent his general, Beibars, against the Mongols. Hûlâgû was recalled by the death of the Mongol emperor, and left his army before Gaza with his general, Ketboga, who gave battle to the Egyptians. Beibars drove the Mongols out of Gaza and again defeated them at Beisân (Scythopolis). On his return from the wars with the Mongols Kutuz was assassinated by his emirs, and Beibars was chosen as his successor.[24]

Beibars, with a view to the maintenance of the integrity of his kingdom, now entered upon a series of wars against the Mongols and the Christians, which made the history of his reign one long record of military expeditions: hardly a year passed, up to the time of his death (1277), that he did not personally undertake some campaign. On his way to do battle with the Christians, Beibars passed through Gaza in 1263,[25] and again in 1265 (Feb. 9).[26] He returned to Cairo by way of Gaza later in the same year, and celebrated a triumph at Cairo on

May 22.[27] In April, 1266,[28] he led another campaign against the Christians; and in March of the following year, he returned to Syria with a further one.[29] This time, he was met at Gaza by the Christian envoys, bearing presents, and with a large number of Moslem prisoners for exchange. In 1268 [30] he set out on another successful expedition against the Christians at Shakîf (Beaufort), by way of Gaza; and finally, in February, 1269, he left Cairo and proceeded via Gaza for Arsouf and Damascus.[31]

After the death of Beibars, his son ruled for two years, when the throne was seized by the powerful emir Kilâwûn, 1279. This Kilâwûn has perpetuated his memory in an inscription over the door of the Great Mosque at Gaza.[32] On June 19, 1280, Kilâwûn marched against the Mongols and encamped at Gaza for fifty days.[33] When news of their advance reached him, he returned to Egypt. Later in the same year (Oct. 29), a battle took place between the Mongols and the Egyptians and their allies at Ḥims (Emessa). The Egyptian left was badly defeated, but the right and center pressed forward and turned the fortune of the day. The sultan followed the retreating Mongols with his Mamelukes and seriously harassed them, inflicting heavy loss. Thus defeat was turned into victory, and the Egyptian left, which had fled to Damascus, Safed, and Gaza, was put to shame by reason of its precipitate flight.[34] The Egyptian sultan, Malik Nâṣir Mohammed ibn Kilâwûn (1293–1340), made Gaza a separate government and set up a *nâ'ib* (governor) there, who had the title Malik al-umara ("King of the Emirs").[35] Prior to this, Gaza had been a village of the territory of Ramleh. In 1299 Gaza was the center of a conspiracy against the sultan of Egypt, which was detected and crushed; [36] and in the same year, Moulay and thirty thousand soldiers laid waste the whole country from Jerusalem to Gaza.[37] This year found the last of the Frank strongholds, Acre (Acco), in Moslem hands; and from this time onward there were no further pretensions to European domination in the Orient till the rise of Napoleon. The last two Crusades (1248–54; 1270–72), not to mention numerous minor ones, came to naught, and added nothing to the power of the Christians in the Orient.

Dimashkî,[38] who flourished at the beginning of the fourteenth century, gives interesting information about the city of Gaza. He states that from the time of Saladin, Syria had been divided into nine mamlâkât (kingdoms). South of the kingdom of Damascus was Gaza. "It is a city," he says, "so rich in trees that it looks like a cloth of brocade spread out on the land." To the kingdom of Gaza were accounted Askelon, Jaffa, Cæsarea, Arsouf, Dârûm, and Al-Arîsh [39] of the coast cities. Of the towns between the coast and the mountains belonging at times to Gaza were Tell al-Safiyeh, Karatayya, Bait Jibrail (Beit Jibrin), Madinat Khalîl (Hebron), Bait al-Mukaddas (Jerusalem), though each of these had its own governor. Gaza marks the extreme boundary of the mild climate, and is the last town in Palestine toward Egypt in the country of Jifâr.

The anonymous Masâlik al-Absâr dates from this same period (1301). This author gives some general information about the city, but adds nothing new to what has already been said. His notes on the local government are, however, of decided value: they have been abstracted by the author of the *Diwan alinsha*, quotations from whom are given here. The city of Gaza was under the rule of the *nâ'ib* of Syria, but had a government of its own. The *nâ'ib* of Gaza was sometimes called "The commander of the Army." He was presented at his induction into office with special robes of honor, and a special commission. Among the military officers of the city may be mentioned the following: (1) *Hajib Kebir;* (2) *Mihamander,* two in number, of whom one was named by the sultan; (3) *Nakib alnokaba,* who was named by the sultan; (4) *Shad al-dawanin* (inspector of bureaus); and (5) *Emir akhor alberid* (chief of the port, though of late the post no longer existed). The *walis* of the city, and the country were named by the *nâ'ib*. Those of Gaza included the following: (1) a *Cadi Shafi'i;* (2) a *Cadi Hanefi;* (3) a *Cadi Mâliki* — one for each sect; (4) a *Wakil beit almâl,* a treasury agent; and (5) a *Mohtesib.*[40] Among the administrative officers were a *Katib derj* (secretary) and a *Nader jeisch* (an inspector of troops). There was formerly a vizier; but the post had been suppressed.

In 1310 Gaza was one of the places which returned to their allegiance to the legitimist, Nâṣir, who had exiled himself to Kerak. At Gaza he drove back the troops of Beibars II., who had been sent against him. Beibars submitted to Nâṣir, but, being in doubt as to the intentions of the latter, fled to Gaza, where he was made prisoner.[41]

[1] Conder, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 78. [2] Jacques de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, xl. [3] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 137. [4] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 122. [5] Quoted by Le Strange, *loc. cit.*: "Gaza is to-day very populous and in the hands of the Christians. The port of Gaza is called Tida or Taida." [6] Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of Egypt*, The Middle Ages, p. 175. [7] *Description of the Holy Places*, xxxvi. [8] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 202. [9] *Archives de la Société de l'Orient Latin*, i. pp. 410, 413, 414. [10] Jacques de Vitry, *op. cit.*, xcix. [11] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. pp. 608, 609. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 559. [13] Quoted by Guy Le Strange, *loc. cit.* [14] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. p. 239. [15] Makrizi, *Khitat*, ii. 397, quoted by Ganneau, *Arch. Researches*, ii. 389 *sqq.* [16] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 315. [17] Renaudot *Historia Patriarchorum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, Paris, 1713, p. 581. [18] Conder, *op. cit.*, p. 317. [19] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. p. 635. [20] Lane-Poole, pp. 257, 258. [21] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. p. 370. [22] *Ibid.* [23] *Ibid.*, i. p. 636. [24] Lane-Poole, p. 261. [25] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii. p. 372. [26] *Ibid.*, p. 377. [27] *Ibid.*, p. 381. [28] *Ibid.*, p. 382. [29] *Ibid.*, p. 387. [30] *Ibid.*, p. 389. [31] *Ibid.*, p. 395. [32] Cf. *infra*, chapter on *Inscriptions*, especially the communication from Van Berchem. [33] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. p. 638. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 640. [35] Makrizi, *loc. cit.* [36] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, i. p. 644. [37] *Ibid.*, p. 647. [38] Quoted by Le Strange, p. 40. [39] This place has come into prominence recently in connection with the dispute between the sultan of Turkey and the English government of Egypt, as regards the boundary line between the two countries. It is the site of the ancient Rhinocolura. [40] The commissioner of markets, weights, measures, and public morals. [41] Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER X

THE TURKISH PERIOD

1300–1900

Now follows a period of but little interest in Palestine. The rivalry of the Mamelukes and the other native princes continues incessantly; but there is hardly one sultan worthy of note or even of passing comment. The records are little more than a continuous recital of notices of Gaza by pilgrims and travelers from western Europe. Political considerations do not enter into their remarks. The center of their interest is mainly religious. Some visit Gaza because of its traditional association with the flight of the Holy Family to Egypt; others for its legendary connection with Samson; others again merely as a station on their journey to or from Sinai, or on the road from Cairo to Jerusalem, or *vice versa*. Pilgrims landed at Jaffa or at Alexandria. If at the latter point, they proceeded to Cairo, the starting-place of the caravans, and thence across the desert to Gaza and the Holy Land. Occasional political remarks vary the monotony of this period; but they are from outside sources. The safe-conduct assured to pilgrims encouraged their visits to the holy places; and the works they have left are legion, though too often but the merest sketches of the journeys, and of the holy places visited.

Buchard of Mt. Zion[1] (1280) begins the list of the visitors to Gaza. He merely repeats the old confusion of the name with that of Gazara. Marino Sanuto (1321), in his "Secrets of True Crusaders,"[2] shows Gaza on his map (square 77), and locates it in his text with reference to Askelon, Darom, etc. Maundeville (1322) gives it as four days' journey from Acco, and says of the

city that it was "fair and full of people." Wilhelm von Boldenselle [3] (1333) visited the city on his way to Sinai. Ludolphus de Sudheim (1347), in his "De Itinere Terre Sancte," [4] mentions it as the only one of the Philistine cities not in ruins, and as "well inhabited." He associates it with the Samson cycle, and mentions the distance of the city from Acco, and its being on the road to both Cairo and Sinai. About the same time, Rudolph de Fraymensburg and Jacque de Verone,[5] went from Gaza to Sinai and thence to Cairo. They give the distance between Cairo and Gaza as seven days' journey. They associate Gaza with the Flight to Egypt.

In 1355 Gaza was visited by the Mohammedan traveler Ibn Baṭuṭah,[6] who speaks of it as "large and populous, with many mosques, and no walls." He says (incorrectly) that the mosque was built by the Emir Jâwâly [7] and mentions its beautiful white marble pulpit. In 1376 Hans von Bodeman and Diethelungen der Schilter [8] visited Gaza on their way from Cairo to Jerusalem. Of this period is preserved a document [9] of some little interest giving the terms of the contracts drawn up between the pilgrims and the dragomans. For the journey to Sinai, the dragoman promised to furnish the pilgrim with his company, to pay all tributes and customs as far as Gaza, to provide an ass and a Christian *mukâri* (mule driver) for each, to provide all food except wine as far as Gaza, camels in Gaza for the further trip, and a substitute as far as Cairo. For this each pilgrim was to pay twenty-three ducats, one-half at Jerusalem and one-half at Gaza before the desert trip.

Of the internal affairs of the city during all this time very little is known. Only an occasional reference to such matters is found in Arabic authors; *e.g.* in the year 1381 (784 A.H.) it is recorded that Muwaffik al-Dîn-Ajamî, a sufi of the monastery of Sheikhûn, was named *Hanifite Cadi* of Gaza. He was the first *Hanifite* in Gaza. About this same time, the *nâ'ib* of Gaza, Emir Akboga Safawî, plotted treason against Sultan Barkuk of Egypt. He was detected, exiled to Kerak, and replaced by Ḥusâm al-Dîn ibn Bakîsh. Soon after, the place fell into the hands of

Ilboga Nâṣiri, who revolted against Barkuk. Ilboga won a bloodless victory here, as, when he approached Gaza, Ḥusâm came out to meet him with gifts and proposals of peace. In 1388 died the famous Emir Yûnus, whose khan, just south of Gaza, was a well-known station on the journey through the desert. Meanwhile Barkuk, who had been unseated, regained his throne; and the first city he took after this event, in order to win back his Syrian possessions, was Gaza (1389).[10] In 1399–1400 the army of Timur devastated Syria; and this country was added to his already vast possessions. He was diverted from his campaign in Syria by his larger designs against India. Meanwhile Barkuk died (1399). His successor, Faraj, waged war against the Mongols, but with little success. At the moment when Timur had him at his mercy, the latter died (1405) without ever having entered Egypt or exercised even a nominal sovereignty over it. There is no record that Timur penetrated as far south as Gaza.

The closing years of Faraj's reign were made miserable by the attempt of various Mamelukes to overthrow him. The two emirs, Shaikh al-Maḥmûdî and Nawruz at Damascus, were particularly violent in their opposition. Faraj surrendered to Nawruz and was treacherously put to death (1412).[11] The next sultan, Mustaein, was a mere "dummy," and in the few months of his reign the two great emirs tried to settle who was master, meanwhile upsetting all of Syria.[12] Maḥmûdî succeeded in having himself made sultan in 1412 with the name of Mu'ayyid. During these struggles Gaza was in the hands of Nawruz in 1405; but later it again fell into the possession of the Egyptians. This year was also marked by a severe pestilence in the city, which decimated the inhabitants.[13] In 1419 occurred the death of Shihâb al-Dîn Aḥmad ibn Abdallah, a native of Gaza and a prominent advocate of the doctrines of al-Shâfi'î.[14]

John Poloner (1421) mentions Gaza in his "Description of the Holy Land"; and Antoninus de Cremona, about the same time, says that he spent fifteen days in the desert between

Gaza and Sinai. In 1432 Betraudon de la Brocquerie,[15] after praising the fine situation of the city, complains of the harsh treatment which the pilgrims received there. He himself was arrested three times for wearing his sword (this, no doubt, being permitted only to Moslems), and because of quarrels with his *mukâri*; it would have gone hard with him had not the governor been set upon doing justice. He cites a case in which pilgrims were made to pay five ducats for an ass, while others could secure one for two ducats. In 1433 the city was visited by Philip von Katzenellenbogen[16] on his way to Sinai from Jerusalem; and later (1460) the author of "Descriptio Parrochiae Jerusalem,"[17] mentions Gaza as being situated in the archbishopric of Cæsarea. On the other hand, the Russian merchant Basil,[18] who visited the city in 1465-66, states that it belonged to the see of Jerusalem. He adds that the city was near the *Mer Blanche*, no doubt being influenced to give this name to the Mediterranean in contrast to the *Mer Rouge*. The church was dedicated to the "Very Pure (*i.e.* the Holy Virgin)," and the name of the then metropolitan was Michael. Christians were numerous at that time in Gaza according to this traveler. Tucher, Rieter, and Spiegel (1479) and Bernhardt von Breitenbach[19] (1483) were among the less important pilgrims of this period.

In 1481 the city was visited by Meshullam of Volterra,[20] an Italian Jew, whose account of the city at this period is very interesting. His descriptions vividly portray the life of the times; and they are filled with interesting details of the state of the country at the close of the fifteenth century, just before the advent to power of the Ottoman Turks. The following quotation is from his itinerary:—

"We [*i.e.* he and his companions with whom he had crossed the desert from Cairo] left Khan Yûnus [a desert station, south of Gaza] Wednesday, July 21, and proceeded toward Gaza. About a mile from that city we heard that the Syrians [meaning the Arabs of Syria] had spread over the land, so that no one dared leave his house; that they had killed three men about a mile from Gaza,

and had captured two camels laden with merchandise. When we heard this we were greatly frightened till we came to a place where we heard the road was safe. We were told we could not leave Gaza till a company of 4000 or 5000 men should have been gathered together with whom we could travel. But, praise be to God! we arrived at the city in safety. When we reached Gaza we saw a khan called Elhyonos, where the caravans stopped instead of in camps. There was a great courtyard, and men were standing about under the sheds which surrounded the court. We saw that all the places were filled, for all the caravans had stopped in the city on account of the disturbances. There ere then in Gaza more than 7000 men and 10,000 camels bound for Damascus. We put up at a nearby inn called Yeroka, and learned that all the city was in great excitement because the *nâ'ib* was proceeding against the Bedouins to assist the *nâ'ib* of Ramleh, the Bedouins having attacked Ramleh and burned parts of it. . . . The Arabs call the city Gaza. It is a goodly and praiseworthy land, and its fruist are very well spoken of. Good bread and wine are to be had there. The latter is made only by the Jews.[21] The circuit of the city is four miles; but it has no wall. It is situated about six miles (somewhat exaggerated) from the sea, built partly upon a hill and partly in the valley. The inhabitants are numerous, including sixty Jewish and four Samaritan families. These live on the slope of the hill."

He then mentions the house of Delilah and the temple of Dagon, whose ruins are pointed out to visitors, and continues: —

"The emir of Gaza, as mentioned above, went out to aid the emir of Ramleh. He sent the heads of eleven Arabs, stuck upon spears, to Gaza. He proceeded toward Ramleh, and on the very same day the Bedouins fell upon him and killed all the troops of the *nâ'ib* of Gaza, numbering about 23,000 men. None escaped but the emir and one hundred horsemen, and had not another troop of Bedouins come to his aid — the latter hate each other fiercely — he too would have been killed. He returned to Gaza in deep mourning. All the roads were very dangerous, and we knew not what to do. In Gaza there are about fifty[22] Jewish families, most of whom are artisans. Some of them are highly respected.

They have a beautiful little synagogue, and own vineyards and fields and houses. They have already begun to make wine. They honored me greatly, especially R. Moses ben R. Judah, a Sephardi, who was a goldsmith. . . . The Jews live in the upper city.[23] The house of Delilah is shown in the Jewish quarters."

Meshullam[24] remained in Gaza till Monday, July 27, when he left for Jerusalem.

Two years later (1483) Felix Fabri visited the city. He gives an interesting account of his experience there, recording how the captains of the pilgrims, with whom he was at Jaffa, quarreled, and how the Moors threatened to send them to Gazara (by which name he constantly refers to Gaza) as prisoners, awaiting the disposition of the sultan, if they did not improve their behavior.[25] He also describes their departure from Bethlehem; and how they "went on till we came to the parting of the ways, where one road goes down to the right across the plain into Palestine, towards Gazara. . . . Another way leads to the left into the hill-country to Hebron. From Hebron, it fetches about and leads down into the plain-country of Palestine to Gazara. This route to Gazara, by the left-hand road, is two German miles the shorter." His observations on the roads to Gaza are borne out by modern travelers as approximately correct. Arriving at Gaza towards nightfall, they feared to enter the city by daylight[26] lest they should be tormented by the little Moslem boys, who threw stones at them and broke their wine-jars. They therefore camped outside the city, without any fire, till night. Fabri's party almost came to grief owing to illnesses which laid hold of them. Many wished to turn back; the others quarreled among themselves as to the course to be pursued. Finally all agreed to continue on their way through the wilderness and to support each other under all circumstances.[27] Figs were very abundant; and Fabri tells how he was poisoned through eating some. The Greek Catholics refused to allow a Latin mass in their church. The ruins of the temple of Dagon

were pointed out to them, and the gates of the city which Samson had carried away. Near the gate is a mosque which marks the site of the inn in which Samson was entertained by Delilah. Fabri makes the striking statement[28] that Gaza was then the chief city of Palestine, and twice as large as Jerusalem. "It is populous and flourishing; and all things needful for human life are abundant and cheap. There is a great palm-grove around the city. The houses are wretched and made of mud [as to-day]; but the mosques and baths are costly. The city is without walls, but there are numerous towers in it. The town is a German mile [about correct] from the sea, and at night the sound of the waves is audible." There were many merchants at Gaza, and at that time it still was a cosmopolitan city; for Fabri mentions Ethiopians, Arabs, Egyptians, Syrians, Indians, Jews, and Eastern Christians as among the inhabitants of the city. But, he adds: "There are no Latin Christians here. The people in general are well disposed toward the pilgrims." This is quite likely to have been the case; for Gaza was the provisioning-point for the desert, either coming or going, and native sagacity would suggest that prospective buyers be well treated. It is stated that there were large numbers of sick persons in the city in 1486, owing to the great heat and the prevalence of fever.[29]

In 1488 the city was visited by the Jewish rabbi and author, Obadiah of Bertinoro. He was entertained by a German Jew, Moses of Prague, who had fled to Gaza from Jerusalem to escape petty persecution. On the Sabbath of his sojourn there, Obadiah dined with a large company of his coreligionists.[30] The end of the century is marked by the visit of Brocardius; and during a visit to the Orient (1496-99) Arnold von Harff was imprisoned at Gaza for three weeks.[31]

The year 1496 witnessed a battle at Gaza between the rival emirs, Akberdy and Kansowah Khamsieh. Khamsieh had usurped the throne of Egypt in accordance with the prevailing policy of the Mamelukes, but failed in his attack upon

the citadel of Cairo. He fled to Palestine, and made his last stand at Gaza, but with no success.[32]

The beginning of the sixteenth century saw the power of the Ottoman Turks well established throughout Asia Minor and in southeastern Europe. They coveted the possession of Egypt; and, though for a time they had been nominal vassals of the Mameluke sultans, they were now openly their rivals. The Mamelukes had almost run their course in Egypt. More and more their rulers became mere puppets in the hands of the court cabal, and held less and less of real power. They had lost everything except their reputations as patrons of art and learning. Fearing the power of the Turks, the Egyptians posted an army near the border of Syria to watch their advance. Selim II. regarded this as a hostile move on the part of the Egyptians. Acting on the advice of his vizier, Selim advanced into Syria and gave battle to the Mameluke army near Aleppo. The Egyptians suffered a terrible defeat and withdrew. Selim followed up his success, and pressed on through Syria to Gaza. An army under Yân Berdy set out on Dec. 17, 1516, from Cairo for the relief of Gaza; but it moved too late to be of any assistance to the city.[33] A false rumor shortly after spread through the city that the Egyptian army had been victorious in a fray with the Turks. The inhabitants thereupon arose and massacred the Turkish garrison; but, to their sorrow, it was soon learned that the rumor was unfounded. Selim ordered large numbers of the citizens slain as an act of retaliation.[34] A final battle was fought in the neighborhood of Cairo, with the same result as the previous ones, and Egypt became a Turki h province. The Othmans now ruled the whole Mohammedan world, and added the religious title of "Khalifah" to the others of worldly power and dominion which they enjoyed.

Gaza was visited in 1507–8 by Martin von Baumgarten.[35] About this time (1523) David Reubeni traveled from Cairo to Gaza with a party of merchants, among whom was one Abraham Dunatz of Beirut; at Gaza he lodged with Rabbi

Daniel, the richest Jew in the city.[36] Reubeni was an Arabian Jewish adventurer (1490–1535) who came to western Europe with a supposed mission to the Pope. He endeavored to interest his western coreligionists in the supposed lost tribes and to arouse interest in the establishment of a Jewish quasi-Messianic kingdom.[37]

In 1548 the city is mentioned by Pierre Belon,[38] who praises its fruits; in 1561, by Emanuel Oertel and David Furtenbach;[39] in 1565, by Johann Helffrich;[40] in 1598, by Freiherr Christopher Harant von Polschiz and Wesenz;[41] toward the end of the sixteenth century, by Ghillebert de Lannoy;[42] in 1601, by Henry Timberlake;[43] in 1604, by Sebastian Schach;[44] in 1606, by Cyprianus Eichovius;[45] and in 1625, by Friederich Eckher am Kaempfing and Karl von Gruenning.[46] The last-mentioned two were arrested at Gaza on their way to Syria for trying to evade the customs, and were fined one thousand piasters each. In 1641–42 Gaza was visited by the Jew Samuel ben David, a Karaite,[47] who speaks of it as "a beautiful city, wherein the Jews have a synagogue, a bath, and a khan." He says there were about one hundred shops kept by Jews who dealt in food and merchandise. In 1654–55 the city was visited by Moses ben Elijah,[48] the Levite, who identified Gaza with Ramleh—an identification for which there appears to be no basis. In 1659 Fra Juan Bautista visited the city.[49]

About 1660 a new era of prosperity set in for Gaza, under the beneficent rule of Hussein Pasha. At that time the Chevalier D'Arvieux,[50] who resided at Sidon as a quasi-French consul, visited Gaza; and Pater Morone, who was interested in local antiquities kept him company.[51] Hussein Pasha had borrowed a large sum from the French in order to meet the heavy imposts levied on the city by Hassan Aga, the governor of Sidon. The commerce of the city had fallen off to such an extent that it took a longer period to repay the loan than had been expected. When pressed to pay (1659) Hussein made great efforts to meet the demand. He proceeded to Rama (Ramleh?), where he was met by D'Arvieux and his companions;

and the money was paid over. The French presented the pasha with rich presents of cloth and robes.[52] D'Arvieux then went to visit the pasha at Gaza. There he was lodged at the house of the latter's secretary, one Assalan, who was the son of Greek Catholic parents, but had been compelled to become a Moslem.[53] Hussein was very popular with the Arab chiefs who came daily to his court to pay their respects.[54] He had succeeded his father as pasha, the office apparently being hereditary in his family.[55] His influence over the restless Arabs was very marked; they ceased their raids and plundering expeditions into the land; and all things prospered under his rule. Hussein was a native of the country, and a man of sterling character. He was friendly to the Christians, especially to the French; honest and reliable in all he did and said; and famed for his charities and his hospitality. He was very friendly to the religious orders in his territory, exempting all that they imported from the usual customs duties and even allowing the members to repair their churches and to build hospices.[56] He gave permission to those residing at Gaza to erect a church on the site of the temple of Dagon, which had been destroyed by Samson.[57] His son Ibrahîm was pasha of Jerusalem.[58] In 1663 Hussein was ordered to assist the emir Tur Bey in his war upon the Arabs of the White Banner, who were then in rebellion. From this war he was ordered home in disgrace.[59] He was then commanded to appear at Constantinople; and there his enemies succeeded in having him executed for alleged Christianizing tendencies. His brother Mûsa was appointed his successor.[60] Mûsa was kind and friendly by disposition, but, remembering the fate of his brother, he inaugurated a severe and stern régime, whose harsh effects the French were quick to notice. The inscription over the small *mihrab* in the Great Mosque was set up by Mûsa Pasha in the year 1663.

D'Arvieux gives the following account of the Gaza of his visit: Gaza was the capital of the province of Palestine, and its pasha was ruler of the land.[61] The city was without walls, but was protected by a series of earth mounds, which were

probably ruins of the early walls. In the center of the city was a castle with a stout round central tower, and four corner ones; this dated probably from the period of the Crusades. There were also the remains of an old Roman castle of which the Saracens had built the Serai (government house). The chevalier speaks of the magnificence of the Serai, and of the private dwellings of the time, particularly of the residence of the pasha. There were six mosques besides the Great Mosque, and numerous oratories. The splendor of the baths, and the size of the bazaars, which are said to be not inferior to those of Paris, are spoken of in terms of the warmest praise. Turkish, Arabic, and Greek were the current languages of the inhabitants of the city. The pasha was widely known for his charities, which he bestowed upon all regardless of religion. There were two Christian churches in Gaza: one Armenian, the other Greek. The latter was the larger and the more popular, as legend connected it with the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt. The site of the temple of Dagon was shown at the summit of the hill upon which the Serai was situated; and the hill to which Samson carried the city gates was pointed out, to the east.

Pater Morone relates that the pasha also conducted some excavations on the site of the temple of Dagon, and that a head of porphyry with eyes of crystal was found. Besides, the fragments of many statues were uncovered. The abundance of pillars and columns in all stages of preservation and destruction is noted; also that the whole city was decorated with beautiful and precious marbles. Already, however, the townspeople were allowed to carry off these precious antiques on payment of small sums to the kadi.[61a] It is therefore not surprising that the antiquities uncovered by this enterprising pasha have disappeared.

In 1664 one Nathan, son-in-law of Samuel Lisbona, a rich Portuguese Jew who lived in Gaza, allied himself with the pseudo-Messiah Shabbethai Zebi. In his zeal for his master, for whom he played the rôle of the pre-Messianic prophet, he

pretended to have dug up at Gaza a manuscript which substantiated Zebi's claims to the Messiahship; though, according to other accounts, it was Shabbethai himself who dug up the manuscript and gave it to Nathan to convince him of the authenticity of his mission. Nathan made himself *persona non grata* with the government by preaching about the coming subjugation of the Turkish empire, the establishment of a Jewish kingdom, etc. He remained in Gaza till the apostasy of his master; then, leaving Palestine, he wandered about, preaching his wild doctrines till the time of his death (in Sophia) 1660.[62]

This is a barren period in the history of the land; but the importance of Gaza seems to continue. In 1733 there is record of a large synagogue in the city.[63] About the middle of this century the Bedouins disposed of the plunder of the Meccan caravan, consisting of thirteen thousand camel loads of stuff, in the markets of Gaza.[64] They were led to loot the caravan as an act of reprisal upon the Turks, because of the removal of the pasha Ezadi of Damascus, to Aleppo. Ezadi had made himself very popular with the Bedouin tribes, who resented his transfer as a slight to their interests.[65]

A general unrest seems to have laid hold of a large part of the Turkish possessions at the opening of the next decade; for one hears of troubles in Cyprus, Georgia, Arabia, and Egypt at about this time. Ever ready to respond to the slightest stimulus of unrest, Gaza in 1763 revolted against the Turkish rule.[66] At this time the career of Ali Bey in Egypt was attracting general attention in the Orient. Khallîl Bey, an ally of Ḥussein Bey, whom Ali had exiled from Cairo, took refuge at Gaza with a company of followers. The city gave him asylum, for in the following spring Khallîl Bey set out from Gaza with a body of troops to oppose Ali, but met defeat at the latter's hands.[67] Ali then occupied the city with a body of five hundred Mamelukes (1766).[68] Gaza had had a Turkish *aga* (ruler) whose jurisdiction extended to Khan Yûnus. The aga of Gaza was subordinate to the ruler of Jaffa, who in turn was under

the pasha of Acco. Ali Bey had a most remarkable career. He drove the Turks out of Egypt, made himself ruler of that land, conquered Syria and Arabia, held the holy city of Mecca for a short time, and even made treaties with Russia and Venice against Constantinople. But treason undid his work; and he died of his wounds in Cairo. In 1776 Gaza once more fell into the hands of the Turkish general, Mohammed Bey.[69]

The history of Gaza now becomes associated with the military operations of Napoleon. Having established himself in Egypt, he set out to gain possession of Palestine and Syria. He crossed the desert and advanced on Gaza, it being the first post of importance after leaving the desert, and on entering Palestine on Feb. 25, 1799, his army defeated Abdallah Pasha of Askelon near Gaza. In his memoirs Napoleon published a proclamation which he had issued to the people of Syria, informing them that he came to Syria merely to repress Jezzar Pasha, who had invaded the territory of Gaza and captured El-Arish.[70] His real idea in conducting this campaign was to prevent Egypt from returning to its Turkish allegiance, and to form protective alliances with the numerous petty peoples throughout Syria. In a letter to the Directory, he says of the battle of Gaza: "Next morning we advanced on Gaza, and found three or four thousand cavalry marching toward us. General Murat commanded our cavalry. Kleber advanced on the left, and General Lannes supported the cavalry with the light infantry. We charged the enemy, who did not even wait for our attack, but fell back." The French entered Gaza without striking a blow, although a few of the enemy were killed. They captured a large amount of forage, provisions, and munitions of war, including six cannon. Most of the inhabitants fled. At the suggestion of the French a native divan was established. Most of the Jews who were in the city fled at this time; and in 1811 there were none left.[71] Their synagogue stood idle, and their cemetery was deserted. Napoleon emphasized the importance of Gaza in the defense of the Nile, and spoke of it as "the outpost of Africa, the door of Asia." [72] The French left Gaza on Feb. 28 for their advance

through Palestine.[73] Later in the same year, in the month of May, the French army passed through Gaza on its retreat from Acco. Napoleon seized and fortified El-Arish as the outpost of Egypt.

During the nineteenth century Gaza shared the fate of the rest of Palestine. Mohammed-Ali, who had been sent to Egypt by the sultan in 1798 to oppose the French, — after their withdrawal, — succeeded in reviving the land by fostering its resources. He finally made himself so strong as to be practically independent of his master. He then demanded of the Turks that his position be made hereditary in his family, which was promptly refused. This led him to contemplate war upon the Turks. He soon found an excuse for taking up arms. The rise of Abdallah Pasha in Syria gave him a powerful neighbor and rival on the north. He needed no further pretext for invading Palestine and declaring war against the Turks (1831). Gaza surrendered to Mohammed's forces without any resistance, November, 1831.[74] Mohammed's son Ibrahîm and his general defeated the Turkish forces in several conflicts in northern Syria; and they would have continued on their victorious way to Constantinople, had not the European powers intervened and established peace between the Turks and the Egyptians.

Palestine remained under Egyptian rule, but the people fretted and were dissatisfied because of the burdensome taxes and the military conscription. Mohammed was tyrannical in his attitude toward the Syrians; and this led to an uprising (1834). This rebellion was speedily quelled; but the Turks were not satisfied to let these provinces go thus easily. In 1839, at Nisib, Ibrahîm again achieved a splendid victory over the Turks. In 1840 the Lebanon revolted against Mohammed; and in the same year, consequent on the renewed intervention of the European powers, Palestine and the whole of Syria were returned to Turkish rule, under which they have since remained.

Ibrahîm began his retreat from Damascus with an army of 62,499 soldiers and camp followers in four columns. The

Egyptians suffered greatly from hunger during their march, and also from being harassed by the natives, who were goaded on by the Turks under General Jochmus. The armies kept from open conflict during the whole march, except at Nejdel, near Gaza, where the cavalry forces opposed each other. The Egyptians were defeated and continued on their way to Gaza, which was still in their hands. Their reception here was very cool, the people evidencing no sympathy for their former masters, even in their present fallen state. The army had been reduced by about 20,000 by the hardships of the retreat. Orders were given for the evacuation of Gaza on the arrival of Ibrahîm. The difficulties of embarking the troops were numerous and were increased by the heavy seas and the total lack of harbor facilities. Most of the troops returned to Egypt by sea, but the cavalry under Ibrahîm proceeded overland. In an incredibly short time the evacuation was completed; the last traces of the Egyptians were lost in the desert sands; and the last town of Palestine went into the hands of the Turks.[75] With the exception of the Lebanon province, which has enjoyed a quasi-independence since the French expedition in 1866, all Syria and Palestine have been Turkish possessions since 1840. In 1839 a great plague broke out in Gaza and carried off large numbers of its inhabitants.[76]

The nineteenth century will be known in the history of Palestine as the century of scientific exploration. In previous centuries the land had been visited largely for religious reasons and because of its associations with the Bible. But in this century a real scientific interest manifested itself in the journeyings of many travelers. A number of scientific men visited and explored the territory and attempted to place the study of Palestine antiquities and geography on an equal footing with Egyptology, Assyriology, and kindred studies. Even to-day, however, the religious motive is not entirely lacking; the substantiation of the Biblical accounts of manners and customs; the identification of Biblical sites, flora, and fauna, all receive a large amount of attention.

Among the numerous travelers who have visited the Holy Land in the interest of such studies, only a few of the most important need be mentioned here. Johannes Burckhardt (d. 1817); Irby and Mangles (1817-18); Edward Robinson, the prince of explorers (1832-33); Sepp, Thomson, Titus Tobler (1825, 1845-46; 1863, 1870, 1875); Renan (1860-61); Tristram (1863-64); and Clermont-Ganneau, than whom no living man is better able to speak on Palestinian antiquities. Mention should be made here of the invaluable work of the Deutscher Palästina Verein, and more particularly that of the Palestine Exploration Fund of London, whose survey of western Palestine stands first in the contributions to modern knowledge of the country, and whose accounts of its several excavations have furnished a basis for further archaeological work there.[77]

[1] Page 96. [2] Bk. iii., pt. xiv., chs. 2, 3, 12. [3] Roehricht, *Deutsche Pilger Reisen*, p. 89. [4] xxvii., xxviii. *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii., pp. 341 *sqq.* [5] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii., pp. 345, 348. [6] Le Strange, *op. cit.* [7] Cf. *supra.* [8] Roehricht, *op. cit.* [9] Roehricht, *op. cit.*, p. 23. [10] Cf. Muir, *Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 109. [11] Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 335. [12] *Ibid.* [13] Makrizi, *op. cit.* [14] Slane, *Introduction to Ibn Khallikan*, p. xiv. [15] Roehricht, *op. cit.* [16] *Ibid.* [17] Tobler, *Itineraria Hierosolymitana.* [18] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, Serie Geographique, v., p. 249. [19] Roehricht, *op. cit.* [20] Published by Luncz, in his yearbook, *Jerusalem*, i. [21] The use of wine is forbidden the Moslem by the Koran, and as a consequence, the pious among them refrain from its manufacture. [22] Cf. *supra*, where the number is given as sixty. [23] Probably where the present quarter, Ḥarat el-Jahûd, is situated. Cf. *infra.* [24] Most of Meshullam's statements are verified by Felix Fabri and other travelers who visited Gaza at this time. [25] Fabri, ii., 407. [26] *Ibid.*, ii., 429. [27] *Ibid.*, ii., 429 *sqq.* [28] *Ibid.*, p. 450. [29] Roehricht, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 *sqq.* [30] Neubauer, *Zwei Briefe Obadiah's de Bertinora.* [31] Roehricht, *op. cit.* [32] Muir, *The Mameluke Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 183. [33] Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 203. [34] *Ibid.*, p. 204; *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v. *Gaza.* [35] Roehricht. [36] Neubauer, *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, ii., pp. 143, 148. [37] Cf. *J.E.*, s.v. [38] Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvi., pp. 45 *sqq.* [39] Roehricht, *loc. cit.* [40] *Ibid.* [41] *Ibid.* [42] *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii., pp. 89, 92, 94. [43] Roehricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palæstinæ.* [44] Roehricht, *Deutscher Pilger Reisen.* [45] Roehricht, *Bibliotheca Geographica Palæstinæ.* [46] Roehricht, *Deutscher Pilger Reisen; Z.D.P.V.*, viii., 69. [47] *Ginzê Yisrâêl*, p. 11. [48] *Ibid.* [49] Roehricht, *Bibliotheca*

Geographica Palæstinæ. [50] *Memoires du Chevalier d'Arvieux,* par le R. P. Jean Baptiste Labat, Paris, 1735, six vols. Only copy in America at Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y. [51] Reland, *Palæstina,* pp. 787 *sqq.* [52] D'Arvieux, ii., pp. 1–33. [53] *Ibid.,* p. 43. [54] *Ibid.,* p. 57. [55] *Ibid.,* p. 63. [56] *Ibid.,* pp. 62–66. [57] *Ibid.,* p. 67. [58] *Ibid.,* p. 41. [59] *Ibid.,* p. 68. [60] *Ibid.,* p. 70. [61] *Ibid.,* ii., 46–56. [61a] Reland, *loc. cit.* [62] Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden,* x., pp. 217 *sqq.* [63] Kohut, *Ezra Stiles and the Jews,* p. 131. [64] George Adam Smith, *Historical Geography of Palestine,* pp. 169 *sqq.* [65] William Deans, *History of the Ottoman Empire,* p. 144. [66] Makrizi, *loc. cit.* [67] Hammer, *Geschichte des. Osmanlichen Reiches,* viii., 323. [68] Makrizi, *loc. cit.;* also *Résumé de l'Histoire de l'Égypte,* par E. Amelineau, p. 289. [69] Makrizi, *loc. cit.* [70] The ancient Rhinocolura; a military outpost on the border between Egypt and Palestine. [71] Jos. Schwarz, *Das Heilige Land,* s.v. *Gaza.* [72] *Guerre dans l'Orient: Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie,* par Napoleon lui-même, ii., ch. 7. [73] Paton, *History of the Egyptian Revolution,* i., 251. [74] Paton, *op. cit.,* ii., 95. [75] Paton, *op. cit.,* ii., pp. 207–213. [76] *Narrative of a Mission to the Jews,* Edinburgh, 1843, pp. 101 *sqq.* [77] Cf. Bliss, *The Development of Palestine Exploration.*

CHAPTER XI

THE MODERN CITY

Modern Gaza is situated on a hill, one hundred and eighty feet above sea-level and one hundred feet above the surrounding country.[1] It is practically on the site of the ancient city, which, however, extended farther to the south and east, as shown by the remains. The mounds about the central eminence probably indicate the fortifications erected by the Crusaders. Moslem tradition points to a group of seven pillars near the Bâb el-dârû n as the center of the old city;[2] others claim that the city extended as far as the hill El-Muntâr.[3] It is known that in the time of Alexander the city stood on a hill.[4] The present height of the eminence is no doubt due to the successive demolitions of the city, and the resulting accumulations of débris. It is necessary to dig from nine to twelve meters to strike "mother earth." The sea is not visible from the modern city, because of the intervening line of sand-dunes.[5] The prevailing winds are from south to north; and this has caused the sand to heap up and to form this ridge of hills. The city is situated about three miles from the coast, in the midst of the most fertile gardens in Palestine. These gardens extend four miles from north to south and are about two and one-half miles in width. Fruits are varied and abundant, the apricot and mulberry being generally cultivated. The olive trees here appear to be very old. There are fifteen wells in the neighborhood, having a depth of one hundred to one hundred and sixty feet. Most of them, except those to the north, are slightly saline to the taste. Water is abundant; and this explains the wonderful fertility of the region.[6]

The ancient caravan traffic which gave Gaza its primary importance is now a thing of the past. The markets of the

place, somewhat Egyptian in character, are still resorted to by the Bedouins in great numbers. But the new commerce of Gaza is of no little importance. In 1905, the exports filled twenty-five large ships, besides many sail-boats. These amounted to about $1,500,000 in one season. Its chief exports are barley, durra (Egyptian wheat), wheat, colocynths, sesame, dates, fruits, poultry, eggs, wool, skins, and hides. There are fifty potteries in the city, besides a number of weaveries, and dyeing establishments, which also contribute to the trade of the city. Tanning and soap-making add to the number of local industries, and there is some manufacture of *abayes* (native mantles of striped cloth), shoes, and sieves. These are mostly for local use and inland trade. Olives and olive oil are an increasing staple of commerce. There are a number of steam flour-mills and oil-mills of recent establishment. As Gaza exports food-stuffs, living is cheap there; and house rent is also lower than in Jerusalem or Jaffa. Gaza imports cotton goods, manufactured clothes, shoes, saddles, carpets, hats, woolens, calico, handkerchiefs, socks, building materials, petroleum, soap, coal-sacks, indigo, coffee, tobacco, rice, sugar, and butter to the amount of $750,000 annually.

The harbor accommodation is wretched. A road was built in 1902 connecting the port with the city; but this is already in bad need of repair (1906). Only a few rocks mark the site of the port on the flat, sandy coast. A pier is now contemplated, to facilitate shipping, as at present larger vessels have to drop anchor out in the stream, the merchandise being transported by means of small boats to and fro. The months of July and August are the busiest, as the sea is calmest and the barley and wheat harvest is over. Gaza owes its commercial importance to-day to the fact that it is the center of a great agricultural region. The flat character of the land about Gaza makes it very accessible for the agriculturist.

The growth of the city has been remarkable in the last few years, all the more so when it is remembered that it is almost an entirely Moslem city, with few if any European influences

at work. In 1840 there were 2000 inhabitants; in 1882, 16,000; in 1897, 36,000; and to-day (1906), 40,000. Of these only 750 are Christians (700 Greek Catholics, and 50 Roman Catholics), and 160 Jews (of whom 30 are Sephardim). The growth of the city is traceable to the long period of peace which it has enjoyed, as well as to its favorable position as the port of trade for a large agricultural country. The growth of native industries has kept pace with the general progress of the city. The English, Greeks, and Italians maintain consulates at this point.[7] The English Protestants and the Roman Catholics maintain missions. The Greek Catholics support a church. The Jews, who have but recently returned, have a small synagogue and a school which is subsidized by the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Gaza is the seat of a *ḳâimmaḳâm* (an inferior officer of the government), and a small garrison is maintained there. The town is semi-Egyptian in character; *e.g.* the face veil of the women suggests Egyptian influence.[8] The town is to-day, as it was in ancient times, the connecting link between Egypt and Syria.

The city is divided into nine quarters,[9] namely, Ḥârat el-Zeitun ("olive quarter") to the south, on the side of the mound; Ḥârat el-Jahûd ("Jews' quarter"); Ḥârat el-Naṣâra ("Christian quarter"); Ḥârat el-Muslimīn ("Mohammedan quarter"); Ḥârat el-Fawâkhîn ("potters' quarter"); Ḥârat el-daraj ("quarter of the steps"), on the western slope of the hill; Ḥârat banî ʿÂmir ("quarter of the sons of ʿAmir"); Ḥârat el-tufên ("apple quarter"), on the flat ground to the north; and Ḥârat el-sajjaʿiyya ("mixed quarter"), to the east, on the lower ground. The last two quarters are decidedly modern, and are not included in the city wall.[10] The quarter near the El-Muntâr is sometimes known as Bab el-dârûm. A market is held there yearly.[11] The Christian Arabs claim that the name is a corruption of Bâb Deir el-Rûm, "Gate of the Roman monastery."[12] But this is rather far-fetched: "south gate" is correct and sufficient. The western suburb is sometimes called the Ḥârat el-Sumara, "the Samaritan quarter,"[13] remi-

niscent of the time when numbers of this peculiar sect dwelt here. There is none left to-day in Gaza. The city is sometimes roughly divided into an upper and a lower city.[14] There are seven gates [15] to the modern city, known as follows: bâb el-baḥr ("sea gate"); bâb el-dârûm ("south gate"); bâb el-muntâr ("gate of the hill, el-muntâr"); bâb el-Khalîl ("Hebron gate"); bâb el-ʿAsḳalân ("Askelon gate"); bâb el-balâchîye ("gate of el-Blachiyyah" [16]); and bâb el-maimâs ("gate of Maioumas"?).

One-quarter of an hour distant to the southeast of the city rises the Jebel el-Munṭâr (two hundred and seventy-three feet). It is covered with a number of tombs; [17] and a number of interesting legends and speculations cluster about the place. The name is variously interpreted. The Moslems explain it as the name of a saint; or as a compound of the proper name Mun, and the verb tar, —a far-fetched explanation,— "Mun has flown." Christians derive it from the Syriac or Aramaic *muṭrān*, "bishop," "metropolitan," [18] and tell the following tale of the place: There was once a bishop of the city who was greatly hated by the townspeople. They plotted to accuse him falsely of unchastity, but he heard of the scheme, and, pronouncing his curse upon the plotters, foiled them.[19] It is said that the Wely of ʿAlî el-Munṭâr, on the hilltop, contains the tomb of a former bishop of Gaza, who ruled over Gaza, Askelon, Ashdod, and Bait Jibrîn. The Moslems tell a tale of the ghost of a monk which walks about the wely nightly and scatters incense. Is this possibly the tomb of Porphyry, who, it is known, was very unpopular with his fellow-townsmen, and who destroyed the pagan temples? Or is it the site of one of these temples? [20] A feast is celebrated in honor of this bishop on the Oriental Maundy Thursday. His name, however, is unknown.[21] The most likely explanation of the name of the hill, which is too simple to satisfy Oriental fancy, is that it is derived from the root NṬR, "to watch," *i.e.* it is the hill of the lookout, the watchtower. Because of the Cretan interests and influences in Gaza, an arbitrary deriva-

tion of *Muntâr* from *Minotaur* was established, but without any foundation.[22]

The houses of the city are mostly of dried mud.[23] There are two large mosques and several smaller ones.[24] The Serai on the east side of the town dates from the thirteenth century.[25] It is in a very dilapidated condition, and is used as the residence of the Ḳaimaḳâm. Near by is the Great Mosque, El-Jami' el-Kebîr. This mosque is no doubt the Crusaders' church of St. John the Baptist, altered and disfigured by the Moslems for the needs of their worship.[26]

The church was built out of old materials; but as it is not orientated exactly, it is doubtful if the original plan was followed. The right boundary wall was destroyed and rebuilt by the Moslems, who carried it further south, giving it a slanting direction. They destroyed the apses, and in place of the central one they erected a minaret (it has five minarets at present). The church has three aisles, the middle one being somewhat higher than the others. This was effected by superimposing two orders of pillars. On the four sides of the pillars columns of blue-gray marble with Corinthian capitals are engaged. In the left boundary wall are three openings, two of which were cut in later, as but one is a true door. Above one of these openings is a fine pointed window with deep reveals. The west door is decidedly mediæval in character. The church has four bays one hundred and ten feet long. The nave is twenty-two feet wide and the north aisle thirteen feet. A wall was built across the east end of the nave and the north aisle by the Moslems. It is possible that the capitals of the pillars are of Byzantine workmanship; and the pillars themselves are heavier than the usual Crusading work. The roof and windows are certainly mediæval. The arches are pointed throughout the building. Mention is made below of the inscribed pillar and of the pillars containing apertures for holding crosses. Robinson[27] thought that the church as it stands was the altered church of the fifth century as built by Rufinus — the Eudoxiana; but the character of the architecture is

against such a view, though it is no doubt true that much of the old material, even from the preëxisting heathen temple, is still in the building. Over the door of the mosque is an Arabic inscription containing the name of Kelâwûn (cf. above; d. 1290), and over the small *miḥrâb*, a later inscription of Mûsa Pasha (see above) of the year 1663. Stanley Lane-Poole also reports inscriptions of the Baḥri Mamelukes, Lâgîn (1294–99) and Nâṣir Mohammed (1300–41) and of the Circassian Mamelukes, Barkûḳ (1383–90), Mu'ayyad (1412) and Mohammed b. Kait Bey (1496) in the Great Mosque.[28]

West of the Great Mosque is a small Greek church containing two crude Byzantine columns. It is said to be about fourteen to fifteen centuries old, and to have been built by a Byzantine emperor. The register, now in Jerusalem, contains entries a thousand years old. The present church was erected by the Crusaders on the site, according to the plan, and from the materials of the previously existing Byzantine church. Ancient marbles are used as bonding-pieces for the walls and as horizontal courses. The bases of the columns, the capitals, and some of the columns belong to the Crusading period.[29] Southwest of the Great Mosque is a splendid caravansary known as the Khân el-Zêt.[30]

On the northwest side of the town, on the side of the hill, stands the wely of Sheikh Sha'bân, in which is the tomb of Sidna Hâshim, the grandfather of the Prophet.[31] It was restored in the last century, mostly with the older materials. On the north of the town is the wely of the Sheikh Nabak,[32] and to the east of the Serai is a small modern building said to contain the tomb of Samson.[33] This, or at any rate a tomb of Samson, was shown throughout the Middle Ages, as is reported by all visiting pilgrims. A site is pointed out to the southwest of the city as the spot to which Samson carried the gates of the city. He is known in Gaza as Shemshûn abû 'l-Âzam[34] and Shamshûn el-Jabbâr (= שמשון הגבור).[35] Near the Bâb el-dârûm, the south gate, not far from the quarantine station, is a Moslem graveyard.[36] In it is found a group of

seven pillar-shafts, on one of which is an Arabic inscription some seven hundred years old. These pillars were no doubt taken from some older building of Roman times.[37] Moslem tradition points to these pillars as the center of the old city. In the Maidân el-Zaid,[38] "Meadow of Zaid," is a racecourse built by the Saracens. Four pillars at right angles mark out the course. These also were taken from some old building; and one of them bears a funerary inscription.[39]

[1] Baedeker, *Syria and Palestine*, p. 142. [2] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875, p. 161. [3] *Ibid.* [4] Cf. *supra.* [5] Buhl, *Palaestina*, p. 190. [6] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [7] *Die Welt*, 1906, no. 31, pp. 8, 9. [8] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [9] Gatt in *Z.D.P.V.*, xi., pp. 149–159. [10] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., pp. 1–14. [11] Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, ii., pp. 379 *sqq.* [12] *Ibid.* [13] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., *loc. cit.* [14] *Ibid.* An excellent map of the different quarters of the city and its general topography is found in the *Z.D.P.V.*, ix., pp. 149–159, in an article by Gatt. [15] *Ibid.* [16] There is a town el-Blachiyyah, north of Gaza (*Z.D.P.V.*, vii., *loc. cit.*), by some supposed to mark the site of Anthedon, which no doubt gives this gate its name. The difference in the vocalization is no doubt due to faulty transcriptions. [17] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [18] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., *loc. cit.;* also, Ganneau, *op. cit.*, p. 434. [19] Ganneau, *op. cit.*, p. 434. [20] *Ibid.* [21] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., *loc. cit.* [22] Ganneau, *loc. cit.* [23] *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine*, iii., p. 238. [24] *Ibid.* [25] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [26] Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 383 *sqq.; P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875, pp. 161 *sqq.* [27] Quoted by *P.E.F.Q.S.*, *loc. cit.* [28] On the Arabic inscriptions of Gaza, see below, section on *Inscriptions*, and in particular the communication from Van Berchem. [29] Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, p. 381; *P.E.F.Q.S.*, *loc. cit.; Memoirs, S.W.P.*, p. 248. [30] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [31] Baedeker, *loc. cit. et passim.* [32] Baedeker, *loc. cit.* [33] *Ibid.* [34] Ganneau, *op. cit.*, p. 380. *'Azam* is probably an Arabic corruption of the name *Azon*. Stephen of Byzantium reports that according to one legend, Gaza was founded by Azon, the son of Hercules. The confusion of Hercules and Samson is a natural one, which accounts for the present name. It is likely too that this name is derived from the adjective A'zam, "the powerful one." [35] Samson is frequently referred to in Hebrew literature as שמשון הגבור, Samson, the hero. This is no doubt a corruption of the Hebrew original. [36] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., *loc. cit.* [37] *Memoirs, S.W.P.*, iii., pp. 248–251. [38] *Ibid.* [39] Cf. *infra, Inscriptions.*

PART II

CHAPTER XII

CULT AND DEITIES OF GAZA

Dagon — Religious Influences — Marnas — Name — Meaning — Identified with Zeus Kretagenes — Dominus Imbrium — Kosmos — Zeus Aldemios — Connection with Crete — The Marneion — Other Heathen Temples and Cults at Gaza

According to Baethgen [1] the Philistines manifested no originality in religious matters. They borrowed from the Phœnicians, the Assyrians, and the Syrians, and later from the Greeks. Dagon is the god identified with Gaza in the Bible.[2] Mention is made of a temple of this god at Ashdod also.[3] Several place-names contain the element DGN,[4] which may indicate that this cult was formed in these places also. The divine name *Dagan* is found among the Babylonians and Assyrians also. Among these latter, Dagan was associated with Anu and Ninib and was probably the earth god.[5] It is possible that the Assyrian Dagan and the Philistine Dagon were both originally an Aramean deity connected with fertility;[6] or that during the long period of Assyrian influence in southern Palestine the Dagon cult was introduced from this source.[7] Note, too, the Assyrian proper name *Dagan-Takala*.[8] All that is known of the peculiar cult of Dagon is, that at his temple at Ashdod, care was taken not to step upon the threshold.[9] He had his own priests;[10] and it is possible that his image was carried into battle by his worshipers, as were the other Philistine gods.[11]

As to the appearance of this deity or of the representations made of him nothing definite is known, except that the idol had a head and hands extending from his body, such as would be broken off by a fall.[12] The generally accepted

opinion, that he was part fish, rests upon a bold deduction from a poor text in 1 Sam. v. 4,[13] and upon a popular etymology connecting the first element of the name with *dag*, the Semitic word for fish.[14] Nor does Josephus give us any hint on this subject. Berosus mentions a sea-creature named Odakon, half-fish, half-man, which many [15] identify with Dagon.[16] Rashi [17] imagined that he was represented under the form of a fish. Kimhi [18] crystallized the current Jewish tradition on the subject thus: "They say that Dagon had the form of a fish from his navel downward, and from his navel upward the form of a man." Nicolas de Lyra [19] and Isaac Abarbanel [20] thought he had a fish's head. Philo Byblius, generally very helpful, says nothing of the appearance of the idol; but interprets the name as *σίτων*, "corn," and connects this god with agriculture. It should here be noted that the Hebrew word for corn grain, דגן, may also be connected with the name of this deity. This may prove correct, if the identity above suggested with the Assyrian god be established; or if we identify Dagon with the later god Marnas, who, we are told, was connected with the rain-producing power and with the idea of fertility. The generally accepted tradition is the first here stated, which, assisted by the etymology already given, transferred to the god Dagon Lucian's description of Derceto, a goddess also worshiped on the coast of Palestine and Syria.

Hitzig [21] calls attention to the prominent part that sea traffic played in Gazæan life, and to the probable inclusion of a marine deity in its pantheon. He also suggests, apparently without much basis of fact, the identity of Dagon with Marnas, the local deity of the Hellenistic period. Following up his theory that the Philistines were Aryans, he suggests the further equation of Marnas and Varuna, the Indian god of the sea. But more to the point is his contention that the traditional idea of Dagon is correct. He calls attention to the fact that, according to certain ancient authorities, Minos was part fish, a sort of Poseidon; [22] and he bids one recollect the zoöanthropic form of the Minotaur.[23] He also calls attention to the fact

that Artemios of Phygalia had a fish's tail; and that on the coin of Itamos in Crete a human figure with a fish's tail is shown. As the home of the Philistines was probably Crete, some such influence may have operated on their god-concepts.

The cult of Dagon seems to have been widespread among the Philistines; for, according to Jerome,[24] "Dagon is the idol of Askelon, Gaza, and the other Philistine cities," as is also evidenced by the place-names already cited, to most of which Philistine influence extended. It is interesting, too, to note that in rendering Isaiah xlvi. 1 the Septuagint[25] reads "Dagon" instead of "Nebo." Philo Byblius gives Dagon a place in the Phœnician theogony;[26] and Sayce[27] mentions a cylindrical seal of the seventh century B.C., now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, with the words "Ba'al Dagon" in Phœnician characters; but it would be unwarrantable to infer from this scant evidence that the god was worshiped among the Phœnicians also. Something of the importance of Dagon in the Philistine pantheon may be inferred from the gathering of the Philistine rulers in his temple at Gaza to offer sacrifice and to celebrate the capture of their great enemy Samson.[28] This cult persisted in Ashdod, and possibly in Gaza also, till very late times; for it is recorded in 1 Macc. x. 83, 84, that Jonathan burned the temple of Dagon at Ashdod, where the troops of Apollonius had taken refuge.

Between the last mention of Dagon as the special deity of Gaza and the first reference to a later divinity for that city a wide gap occurs in the religious history. The sources are silent for the whole interval; and what took place in the thought and life of the people during the period can only be conjectured. Judaism never made any impress upon the Philistines.[29] The two peoples remained in open conflict throughout the ages; and although now and then there were temporary alliances, as a general rule they were to be found on opposite sides in every matter of import for their national life. It is possible that excavations at Gaza may show that in the earlier years Egyptian religious influences were marked.

The turning-point in the religious history of Gaza was the conquest of the East by Alexander, and the subsequent Hellenization of the surrounding regions. The long struggle between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ for the mastery of this territory was not only a battle between their respective armies, but was likewise a struggle between the Hellenized-Egyptian forms of thought and life and the more nearly original forms of Greek thought as transplanted to Antioch and developed there. A third element in the conflict was the persistence of the old native cults which represented to the people a form of patriotism (*πάτριοι θεοί*). It is easy to imagine the keenness of the contest in Gaza, situated as it was at the very threshold of the two kingdoms; and, anticipating the bitter struggle which the people made later against Christianity and for their native gods, one can realize that no puny conflict took place here. Josephus[30] speaks of a temple of Apollo at Gaza (96 B.C.) at the time when the city fell into the hands of Alexander Jannaeus; and the prevalence of Greek worship in general is evidenced by the representations of Greek deities on its coins. The first mention of any indigenous cult or deity is upon a coin of Hadrian, which contains the words "Gaza Marna" together with a distyle temple with figures of Apollo and Diana.[31]

The Marnas (the Hellenized form of the Semitic *Marna*) cult is found firmly established in Gaza, and desperately defended in the final conflict with Christianity. The cult was not confined exclusively to Gaza; for there is a reference to a temple in Ostia.[32] A Marnas temple may also have been established at the Portus Trajanus;[33] and a Greek inscription from the Hauran reads *Δι Μαρνα τῳ Κυριῳ*.[34] The name is generally explained as meaning "Our Lord," from the Aramaic root מרא, מרי,[35] plus the suffix נא. Selden, Bochart, Reland, Noris, and Munter tried to explain it as Mar + naš (מרי + נש) "Lord of men"; but the form of the name is "Marna," only Marnas in Greek. The temple is spoken of as the Marneion,[36] a form which could not have been derived from Marnas. Mention need only be made of Hitzig's bold conjecture, already stated

above, that Marnas is the equivalent of Varuna, the Indian god of the sea. The inscription already quoted from the Hauran shows how the title, at first purely descriptive, in later times crystallized into a proper name. Here may be cited also the town-name Burmarna.[37] The proper names Abd Marna[38] and Bal Marnay[39] are found also. *πετε μαρνις* is also found; but it is changed to *πετε μαρεης* by Brugsch.[40] The temple of Marnas is cited together with the Serapeion as a stronghold of heathendom.[41]

Marnas was identified with Zeus Kretagenes. A legend, reported by Stephen of Byzantium,[42] states that Zeus founded the city and buried his treasure there (*γαζὰ*). That author also states that "Minos with his brothers settled there [Gaza], whence there is a temple of the Cretan Zeus among them, which among us is called Marnan, which is interpreted 'Cretan-born' (*Kretagene*); for the Cretans called the virgins thus 'Marnan'" (read *marnans*).[43] Marcus Diaconus[44] also says: "They [the heathen Gazæans] say that Marnas is Zeus." The identification was apparently generally accepted, as all our sources are unanimous in asserting it. Marnas appears as a Semitic deity in Greek dress. In Lampridius[45] he is addressed together with Jupiter as his equal or equivalent.

Marcus Diaconus[46] calls Marnas "dominus imbrium" (lord of rain), in which function he may be compared to Jupiter Pluvius; and he adds that in times of drought the people prayed for him at a place outside the city called "Oratio." He probably corresponds to Jupiter as the sky-god (Kosmos, 'Ouranos),[47] as the round form of his temple would indicate.[48] Comparison may be made of the circular temples mentioned by Chwolson, the Temple of the First Cause, and Temple de l'Ordinance du Monde.[49] In his function of rain-god Marnas is also looked upon as the god of fertility, and is identified with Zeus Aldemios or Aldos, whose name is derived from the Greek root *ἀλδαίνω*, "to grow." A place outside the city was called Aldioma,[50] which name may have some connection with the cult of Zeus Aldemios, probably worshiped in the

open. We also suggest that the עטלוז (ʿAtlaz) of Gaza mentioned in the Talmud[51] may be in some way connected with this spot.[52] It is not impossible to connect the words philologically; and the fact that the Aldioma was outside the city, just where a bazaar or fair would be held, lends some semblance of truth to this suggestion. It is not very likely that the title Aldemios is a Hellenization of *baʿal ḥalodim*, as suggested by Renan[53] and Mövers.[54] Marnas was consulted for oracles just as Zeus was at various shrines in the Hellenic world.[55]

The connection of the Marnas cult with Crete is attested to by the statement of Marcus Diaconus that the Marneion is a temple of Zeus Kretagenes.[56] Epiphanos, Ancoratos,[57] makes Marnas a servant of the Cretan Asterios. This points to some relations with this child-eating god, and also emphasizes his function as sky-god.[58] If all these legends of the connection of Gaza with Crete, and the identification of Marnas with Zeus Kretagenes be accepted as genuine, they considerably strengthen the argument that Crete was the home of the Philistines. But it is an open question whether these identifications are not the result of late Roman influence, and in particular of the legend of the founding of Gaza by Minos, the result of a natural confusion with the Minæans, those Arabs who early settled in Gaza. Tacitus relates that the Jews come from Crete;[59] this is doubtless a confusion with the Philistines.[60]

The Marneion was a round structure, built of marble, with two porticoes. It was open in the center for the escape of smoke and vapors; it faced the north, and was very high. It was considered one of the finest temples of its day.[61] No doubt connected with the local cult was the law of the Gazæans forbidding the bringing of a dead body into the city[62] (cf. the Jewish custom which forbade burials within the city limits[63] and the general aversion to contact with the dead). Interesting also is the aversion which the native women entertained against walking in the courtyard of the new Christian church which was built on the site of the Marneion.[64] This may have

been a survival of the older custom of not treading upon the threshold of the Dagon temple; or only a general feeling against the desecration of the old temple by treading its remains under foot.

Besides the temple of Marnas there were seven heathen temples in Gaza; namely, those of the Sun, Venus, Apollo, Proserpine, Hecate, the Hierion, and the Tychæon.[65] Mention has already been made of the temple of Apollo[66] (96 B.C.). This purely Greek cult was no doubt fostered by the Selucidæ, whose favorite form of worship it was; it may be noted that, in true Greek fashion, the cult of the Sun was differentiated from that of Apollo. The Tychæon was erected to the Fortune of the City. This goddess appears on several coins.[67]

Marcus Diaconus[68] gives a very interesting account of the Venus-worship carried on in the city. Placed above a marble altar in the public square, called Tetramphodos (four roads), was a marble statue said to be that of Venus. It was the image of a nude woman, with her pudenda exposed. It was held in high esteem by all the citizens, especially the women, who kindled lights and burned incense in its honor. It was said the goddess replied to her devotees in their sleep, especially those who wished to enter into matrimony. Marcus adds some unimportant details, and relates that the statue fell to pieces when the cross was exhibited before it, and that many of its devotees were injured. This no doubt was a statue of Venus Anadyomene, born of the sea, goddess of sexual life. She was also honored at the harbor festival of Maioumas and praised by the Gazæan orators.[69] In the Talmud[70] mention is made of a place within the boundaries of the city, called חורבתא סגירתא. Rashi[71] explains it as the "Ruin of the Leper"; but this is evidently a late attempt to translate the name by one who knew nothing of local antiquities. The present writer suggests that it was the name given by the Jews to the public square, *i.e.* the Tetramphodos, to express their horror of the offensive worship which took place there.

It is also probable that Hercules was worshiped in Gaza, he

being the favorite Ptolemaic hero. This is attested by the legend that Gaza was founded by his son Azon,[72] and by a great piece of art work in the city,[73] of which Hercules was the central figure. Several coins have been found with the head and club of Hercules.[74]

In accordance with later syncretistic tendencies, one may safely identify Proserpina with Io, and Hecate with Artemis. Ἱερειον is no doubt a late form of Ἡραῖον.[75] So that here in Gaza, too, we find a Hera sanctuary alongside of that of Zeus.

The relation of the Tyche (Fortune of the City) to the Dea Syria is unknown, though suggested as likely.[76] The Tyche appears on the coins as a woman's head, with a turreted crown, consisting of three towers, one of which is pierced by a door, and with a veil over the back of her head. As a full figure she is dressed in the stole, crowned as above, and holds in her hand either a pair of scales, a horn of plenty, ears of corn, a branch, a wreath, a palm, a trident or lance, and sometimes a head, usually that of the reigning emperor. Often a cow crouches at her feet.[77]

This leads to a consideration of the second female figure so often found hand in hand with the Tyche; namely, Io. First, under Trajan, there is a coin of Gaza with the inscription, ΕΙΩ ΓΑΖΑ; and under Hadrian, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Commodus, Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla and Elagabalus, coins are found similarly inscribed. The second figure on these is a young woman holding out her right hand. It can hardly be questioned that this is Io. Stephen of Byzantium[78] says Gaza was also called Ἰώην, because Io settled there. Eustathius (on Dionysius Periegetes) and Stephen of Byzantium record that the sea from Gaza to Egypt was called Ἰόνιον Πελαγος. Io was represented by the figure of a cow. She was worshiped throughout Syria and as far as the Egyptian delta, where she was identified with Isis Pelagia.

[1] *Beitræge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte,* p. 65. [2] Jdg. xvi. 25 *et al.* [3] 1 Sam. v. 2. [4] Beth-dagon in the territory of the tribe of Judah, in the Shephelah (Josh. xv. 41). The site of the modern Beit Dejan, southeast of Jaffa, does not meet the requirements for an iden-

tification with the old site. Another Beth-dagon was in the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 27) and may be identified with the modern Beit Dejin, near Acco. Jerome (*Onomastica Sacra*, 235, 104) mentions a Caferdago between Diospolis and Jamnia. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, 1) mentions a town Dagon, near Jericho, which may be identical with the modern Beit Dejan, mentioned in the S.W.P. map seven miles east of Nablus. [5] Jastrow, *Religion of Babylon and Assyria*, p. 209; Barton, *Sketch of Semitic Origins*, pp. 230 *sqq.* [6] Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 208. [7] Barton, *loc. cit.* [8] *Tel el-Amarna Letters*, 215, 216; also the name Isme Dagan, king of Isin, *K.B.*, iii., pt. i., p. 87; and Ishme Dagan, Išakke of Aššur (Rogers, *History of Babylon and Assyria*, ii. 2). [9] 1 Sam. v. 1–5. The Hebrew author endeavors to explain the avoidance of the threshold by the incident related in these verses. It was no doubt an example of a common religious phenomenon among the Semites (cf. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*). Reference is again made to this rite in Zeph. i. 9, and there can be little or no doubt that even the Hebrews themselves recognized this rite in their own cult; but for fuller details, consult Trumbull. Interesting is the Targum of the Zeph. passage, which renders it "All who walk in the way of the Philistines," showing that at the time of that translation the rite had been entirely associated with Philistine worship. Wellhausen (*Die Kleine Propheten*, ad loc.) thinks it refers to a similar respect for the threshold of the royal palace, and does not associate it with the cult. In the Talmud Babli, *'Abodah Zarah* 41 ^{b}, the custom is again referred to in connection with the Dagon cult. "They let alone the Dagon [the statue of the god] and worshiped the miftan [the threshold], for they said his princes [genius] had left the Dagon and had come to sit upon the miftan." And in the Palestinian Talmud, *'Ab. Zar.* iii. 42 ^{d}, it is stated that they revered the threshold more than the Dagon (statue). [10] 1 Sam. *ibid.* [11] 2 Sam. v. 21; 1 Chr. xiv. 12. [12] 1 Sam. v. 2–5. [13] The Hebrew text "And only his Dagon was left on him" makes no sense as it stands. Wellhausen suggests that the final *nun* of Dagon is a dittography and that the text should read "And only his fish, *i.e.* his fish-like part, was left." This would solve the difficulty and confirm the tradition that the god was half man, half fish; but no support for it can be found in any of the versions. The LXX renders "And only his chine ῥάχις was left," but Driver, *Notes on the Text of Samuel*, ad loc., thinks that the Greek word used is due to a similarity with the Hebrew רק and cites a number of parallel cases. [14] The comparison is made with the Hebrew word שמשון, Samson, which is derived from שמש, "the sun." [15] Selden *et alii.* [16] By the omission of the initial "O" and the interchange of the similar letters "k" and "g," as well as to the general agreement of the description of Odakon with that of Dagon. [17] Jewish exegete of the eleventh century. [18] Jewish exegete of the thirteenth century. [19] French exegete, 1270–1340; member of the Franciscan order. [20] Jewish exegete, 1437–1508. [21] *Urgeschichte*, § 129. [22] Hitzig, § 132. [23] *Ibid.*, § 130. [24] Commentary on Isaiah xlvi. 1. [25] 𝔊 ℵAQ. [26] He states that he is a son of Ouranos and Ge, and a brother of Elos (El) or Kronos, Baitulos, and Atlas. [27] *Higher Criticism*, 327. [28] Jdg. xvi.

[29] Cf. Brewer, *op. cit.*, p. 202, where the number of converts to Judaism is referred to. [30] *Ant.* xiii. 13, 3. [31] Cf. *infra.* [32] Preller, *Roemische Mythologie*, ii. 399. [33] *C.I.G.* 5892. [34] Waddington, 2412 g. [35] Torrey, in *J.A.O.S.* xxv., pt. 2, p. 323, *Palmyrene Epitaphs*, finds the name עבדא בר מרה, 'Abda bar Marah. This last name he compares with the more general מרא. [36] Marc. Diac., c. 64 *et al.* [37] Tiele, *Bab. Gesch.*, p. 197. [38] *C.I.S.* ii. 1, 47, no. 16[b]. [39] *C.I.S.* vi. 16, Citium. [40] Roscher, s.v. *Marna.* [41] Jerome, *Epist. ad Læt.* [42] S.v. *Gaza.* [43] Marc. Diac., c. 19. [44] *Ibid.* [45] *Vita Alex. Serv.*, c. 17. [46] *Loc. cit.* [47] Moevers, pp. 662, 663. [48] Marc. Diac., c. 75. [49] Sabaeer, ii. 381. [50] Marc. Diac., c. 79. [51] 'Abodah Zarah, 11[b] *et al.* [52] עטלין or עטלון has been variously explained. Levy (*Chaldaeisches Woerterbuch*, s.v.) derives it from the Greek καταλυσις, "a place where horses are outspanned; and M. Cassel (quoted in Rauemer, *Palaestina*) connects it with θόλος," "a rotunda," and suggests that it refers to the round temple of Marnas. We follow Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim*, etc., who, *s.v.*, explains it as a "fair," a "bazaar." [53] *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions Nouvelles*, 1873, xxiii., pt. 2, p. 257. [54] *Die Phoenizier.* They try to explain this title as referring to Zeus as the universal god. They suggest that *ḥeled*, which originally meant "life," "age," afterward came to have the significance of "world," "eternity." The Hebrew word *'olam* had a similar development; but all basis for finding this in *ḥeled* is wanting. [55] Marc. Diac., c. 71. [56] *Ibid.*, c. 64. [57] Page 109, quoted by Roescher, *s.v.*; Moevers, p. 663. [58] Cf. *supra.* [59] *Hist.* v. 2. [60] Cf. Jer. xlvii. 4; Am. ix. 7. [61] Marc. Diac., c. 75 *et al.* [62] *Ibid.*, c. 23. [63] *Baba Ḳamma*, 82[b]. [64] Marc. Diac., c. 76. [65] *Ibid.*, c. 64. [66] Jos., *Ant.* xiii. 13, 3. [67] Cf. *infra*, section on *Coins;* cf. also De la Saussaye, *Manual of the Science of Religion*, p. 317: "These gods (Beltis, Astarte, *et al.*) are partly great nature gods . . . and partly protectors of the nation, as shown by their names, and as the castle-crown on the heads of the goddesses proves." [68] C. 59. [69] Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 588. [70] *Sanhedrin*, 71[a]. [71] So also, Jastrow, *op. cit.*, s.v. [72] Steph. Byz., s.v. *Gaza.* [73] Stark, *op. cit.*, pp. 601, 602; a remarkable clock, in which each of Hercules' twelve labors represented an hour of the day. [74] Mionnet, v., n. 152, 162. [75] Cf. Procopius, *De Edef.* i. 3; *Hist. Arch.* 15, κἂν τῷ Ἡραίῳ ὅπερ Ἱερεῖον καλοῦσι ταvῦν κτλ.; also Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἥραια. [76] *Z.D.M.G.* xxxi., p. 101. [77] Cf. coins, Mionnet, v., n , 122, 125, 134, 141, 147, 149, 150, 151, 158, 160, 169, 171, 181; viii. 51, 60, 63; also Steph. Byz., *s.v.* Ἰόνιον Πέλαγος. [78] S.v. *Gaza.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE CALENDAR AT GAZA

In no part of the Roman Empire was there such diversity in systems of calendation as in Syria. Eras dated back to the Seleucidæ, to Pompey, to Gabinius, to Cæsar, or even to later emperors, whose special favor was enjoyed. From Gaza there is a long series of coins dated, according to a local calendar, up to the year 280, under Elagabalus. Of these, the only one the date of which can be fixed is that of Plautilla, "the wife of Caracalla," 264 A.G. There is also the definite statement, contained in the "Chronicon Paschale,"[2] to the effect that the fourth year of Olympiad 179 was the starting-point of the Gazæan era, *i.e.* 61 B.C. At Leyden and at Florence are preserved manuscript copies of a Latin hemerologium [3] which gives, day by day, the corresponding Roman, Syro-Hellenistic, Tyrian, Arabian, Sidonian, Heliopolitan, Lycian, Asian (*i.e.* of the province of Asia, whose capital was Ephesus), Cappadocian, Askelonite, and Gazæan calendars. Unfortunately, the months June and July are missing in both manuscripts.

In general, throughout Syria, the year was lunar, and began on October 1, with the usual intercalary month so as to make it agree with the corresponding solar year. It was quite different at Gaza, where the year was solar, corresponding to the old Egyptian solar year, with twelve thirty-day months and five intercalary days (*ἐπαγόμεναι*), to which a sixth was added every four years. The Gazæans used the Macedonian names of the months, not the Egyptian ones, and began their year at the end of October, on the twenty-eighth, not the end of August, as the Egyptians did. Nevertheless, they intercalated the epagomenal days just as the Egyptians did, *i.e.* after the twenty-fourth day of August.

Besides the coins, the reference in the "Chronicon Paschale," and the Hemerologium, there are a number of notices in the life of Porphyry by Marcus Diaconus, and a large number of Christian mortuary inscriptions which throw interesting light upon this matter and give valuable assistance in determining the date of the beginning of this era.[4]

According to the Hemerologium, the Gazæan year was constituted as follows: —

The first day of the month Dios corresponded to October 28 of the Roman calendar, and the month lasted 30 days.
1st of Apellaios = November 27, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Audynaios = December 27, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Peritios = January 26, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Dystros = February 25, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Xanthikos = March 27, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Artemesios = April 26, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Daisios (Desios) = May 26, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Panemos = June 25, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Loos = July 25, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of the Epagomenai = August 24, these lasting but 5 days.
1st of Gorpaios = August 29, the month lasting 30 days.
1st of Hyperbereteos = September 28, the month lasting 30 days.

From Marcus Diaconus[5] it is learned that Dios was the first month, Apellaios the second month, and that Audynaios corresponded to January; that the Gazæan months anticipated the Roman ones five days; that the feast of the Epiphany (January 6) fell on the eleventh day of Audynaios;[6] that April 18 corresponded to the twenty-third of Xanthikos;[7] that Porphyry died on the second day of Dystros, 480 A.G.,[8] which, according to the hagiology of the Greek church, falls on February 26. Porphyry died on the second of Dystros, 480 A.G., after having been bishop twenty-four years, eleven months, and eight days;[9] *i.e.* he became bishop of Gaza in the spring of 455 A.G. It is known, too, that he was elected after the dismissal of John of Caesarea,[10] and that Gelasius, the predecessor of John, was present at the synod of Constantinople in September, 394 A.D.

Thus the earliest date at which John could have been appointed bishop of Cæsarea was 395. Now if, according to the "Chronicon Paschale," 1 A.G. corresponds to 61 B.C., then 455 A.G. = 1147–1148 A.U.C. = 394–395 A.D. John was appointed and removed from his charge the same year, and Porphyry was appointed to the bishopric of Gaza immediately after, also in the same year.

Further, the coin of Fulvia Plautilla [11] proves that the era began, as stated above, in 61 B.C. This coin is dated 264 A.G. = 956–957 A.U.C. = 203–204 A.D., an equation which corresponds to the historical fact that in 203 Caracalla married Plautilla and bestowed upon her the title of "Sebaste."

Sanclemente [12] tries to show that the marriage of Plautilla took place in the tenth tribunicial year of Septimius Severus, the fifth of Caracalla, which would be 955 A.U.C. = 202 A.D., holding that coins exist from that year, on which Plautilla is referred to as "Augusta." The next year Plautianus was murdered and his daughter banished. Accordingly, Plautilla could not be referred to as Sebaste on a coin of Gaza of the year 203–204 A.D.; therefore the era of Gaza must have begun in 62 B.C. He argues further that the notices in Marcus Diaconus are not handed down correctly, and that Porphyry must have been made bishop of Gaza several years later than is commonly held. He argues as follows: Porphyry must have entered upon his office immediately after his election; [13] in the same year the drought, due to his presence in the city, as the heathens allege, lasted through Dios and Apellaios; [14] rain came in answer to the prayers of the Christians; [15] because of this, many converts were made and persecutions of the Christians followed; the case of Barochas; [16] Marcus and Barochas are made deacons; [17] Porphyry decides to send Marcus to Byzantium in order to close the heathen temples at Gaza; [18] Marcus goes to Byzantium with letters to John, the bishop; through the chamberlain, Eutropius, the decree is obtained from the emperor. Now John was made bishop February 26, 398; and Eutropius was deposed at the beginning of 399. Hence Marcus's mission must have taken place in 398; Porphyry was

made bishop in 397, the miracle of the rain taking place in January, 398, and Marcus's mission being in the same year. Sanclemente adds still another argument. Jerome[19] says that Gelasius, bishop of Cæsarea, had not published any works till the year of Jerome's book, which Sanclemente dates 393. Noris assigns the death of Gelasius to 394, which would allow too brief a time for the production of the latter's works. Therefore all these dates, including that of Porphyry, must be put later.

But Sanclemente is mistaken.[20] Jerome wrote in 392, not 393; and the period between 392 and 394 gave Gelasius ample time in which to produce his brief works. Nor does the preceding argument hold; for there is nothing in the life of Porphyry to show that the events named above follow so closely upon each other as Sanclemente forces them to do. So the opinion is maintained that Porphyry was made bishop in 395, and that Marcus was sent to Byzantium in 398.

And now as to the argument based on the coin of Plautilla, as advanced by Sanclemente. Does it not prove his contention beyond all question? It is correct that the marriage of Caracalla and Plautilla took place in the year 202 (not 203); for there exists a coin with the legend "P. Aug. Pon. Tr. P.V. Cos." and on the reverse, "Plautillæ Augustæ"; and the fifth tribunicial year of Caracalla was 202. But Sanclemente and the others misinterpret the Dio Cassius passages bearing on this matter, and assign the banishment of Plautilla to the year immediately following her marriage. This is evidently incorrect. Dio Cassius does not mean it to be taken thus; for he does not follow a strict chronological order in his account of the rise and disgrace of Plautianus. He anticipates his story, and gives the account of the daughter's marriage in § 76, 1 and of the father's fall in § 75, 16. And this has caused the misunderstanding which is so prevalent. Further, Bordmann[21] shows from an inscription which reads "L. Septimo Severo — Trib. Potest. XII. — M. Aurelio Antonio — Trib. Potest. VII.," which is evidently of the year 204, that the name of Fulviæ Plautillæ Augustæ had

been erased from the original. Hence it seems likely that Plautilla was exiled in 205.

Another argument may be advanced to substantiate this date for her banishment. Dio Cassius [22] has it that one Korianos, a dependent of Plautianus, was exiled at the time of his master's death and remained in exile seven years. In 212 a general amnesty was extended to all exiles; [23] and, as there is no record of special clemency to Korianos, he must have returned at that time. Hence, having been in exile for seven years, he must have been banished in 205. The "Chronicon Paschale" agrees with Dio Cassius in giving the date of the death of Plautianus as January 22, though the year is incorrectly stated. Dio Cassius [24] says that Plautianus was put to death during the time of the theatrical plays of the Ludi Palatini, which lasted from January 21 to January 23. Hence it seems certain that the death of Plautianus took place January 22, 205. These arguments holding true, the chief objection to the assignment of the beginning of the era of Gaza to the year 61 B.C. disappears.

Appended is a complete list of the imperial coins [25] of Gaza, with their dates, according to the local era. These dates also bear out the contention of those who hold with the present writer that the era of Gaza began 61 B.C.

Augustus (reigned 27 B.C.–14 A.D.)	ΞΓ	63 A.G.
	Ξϛ	66 A.G.
Caligula (reigned 37–41 A.D.)	P	100 A.G.
Claudius (reigned 41–54 A.D.)	PI	110 A.G.
Vespasian (reigned 69–79 A.D.)	PΛ	130 A.G.
	PΛB	132 A.G.
	ЄPΛ	135 A.G.
Trajan (reigned 98–117 A.D.)	PNΘ	159 A.G.
Hadrian (reigned 117–138 A.D.)	BϘP	192 A.G.
	ΓϘP	193 A.G.
	ΔϘP	194 A.G.
	ЄϘP	195 A.G.
	ϛϘP	196 A.G.
	ZϘP	197 A.G.
	HϘP	198 A.G.

Antoninus Pius (reigned 138–161 A.D.)	AC	201 A.G.
	BC	202 A.G.
	ΓC	203 A.G.
	ΔC	204 A.G.
	ЄC	205 A.G.
	ZC	207 A.G.
	HC	208 A.G.
	ΘC	209 A.G.
	IC	210 A.G.
	AIC	211 A.G.
	BIC	212 A.G.
	ΓIC	213 A.G.
	ΔIC	214 A.G.
	ЄIC	215 A.G.
	ϚIC	216 A.G.
	ZIC	217 A.G.
	HIC	218 A.G.
	ΘIC	219 A.G.
	KC	220 A.G.
	AKC	221 A.G.
Marcus Aurelius (reigned 161–180 A.D.)	ΔKC	224 A.G.
	ZKC	227 A.G.
	ΘKC	229 A.G.
	ΛC	230 A.G.
	ΔΛC	234 A.G.
Faustina Jun. (d. 175 A.D.) wife of Marcus Aurelius	HKC	228 A.G.
Marcus Aurelius et L. Verus (161–169 A.D.)	ΔKC	224 A.G.
	HKC	228 A.G.
	ΘKC	229 A.G.
Lucius Verus	ΔKC	224 A.G.
	ЄKC	225 A.G.
	HKC	228 A.G.
	ΘKC	229 A.G.
Faustina Junior et Lucilla (Lucilla married Verus 164 A.D.)	ΔKC	224 A.G.
	HKC	228 A.G.
	ΘKC	229 A.G.
Commodus (Cæsar, 166 A.D.,	ϚΛC	236 A.G.

Imperator, 176 A.D.)	ΖΛC 237 A.G.
Commodus, sole ruler (reigned 180–193 A.D.)	ΗΛC 238 A.G.
	ΘΛC 239 A.G.
	MC 240 A.G.
	AMC 241 A.G.
	ЄMC 245 A.G.
	HMC 248 A.G.
Pertinax (reigned Jan.–Mar. 193 A.D.)	(?) ΔNC 254 A.G.
	(?) ЄNC 255 A.G.
Septimius Severus (reigned 193–211 A.D.)	ΔNC 254 A.G.
	ZNC 257 A.G.
	HNC 258 A.G.
	ΞC 260 A.G.
	AΞC 261 A.G.
	ΓΞC 263 A.G.
	ЄΞC 265 A.G.
	HΞC 268 A.G.
Julia Domna (died 217)	AΞC 261 A.G.
	ЄΞC 265 A.G.
	⊏ΞC 266 A.G.
	ЄOC 275 A.G.
Caracalla (Cæsar, 196 A.D., Augustus, 198 A.D.)	HNC 258 A.G.
	ΘNC 259 A.G.
	AΞC 261 A.G.
	ΔΞC 264 A.G.
Plautilla	ΔΞC 264 A.G.
	? ΞC 26 ?
Geta, Cæsar, 198 A.D.	ΓΞC 263 A.G.
Elagabal (reigned 218–222 A.D.)	ΠC 280 A.G.
Paula, wife of Elagabalus	ΠC 280 A.G.
Mæsa	AΠC 281 A.G.

The dates of most of these coins correspond to the equation 1 A.G. = 693–694 A.U.C. = 61–60 B.C.; *e.g.* the date of the coin of Antoninus Pius, 201 A.G. = 893–894 A.U.C = 140–141 A.D. The two coins of Pertinax, which are badly preserved, are uncertain in their reading. It may be that they ought to be attributed

to Septimius, one of whose cognomens was also Pertinax; but this is at best questionable. The coin of Vespasian PΛ,[26] even though inscribed *Σεβαστος*, does not offer an exception. For it must not be forgotten that Vespasian was acclaimed by the Egyptian legion July, 69, and by the Syrian legion soon after. Again, as regards the coin of Hadrian, dated 198 A.G. (= 137–138 A.D.), it is known that Hadrian died July, 138. Now, if the date of the beginning of the Gazæan era is set later than 61 B.C., this coin could not have been struck until after his death. Likewise, with the last coin attributed to Antoninus Pius, which is dated 221 A.G. (= 160–161 A.D.), as Antoninus died March 7, 161, the coin could not have been minted after his death. Further, with the coin of L. Verus, dated 229 A.G. (= 168–169 A.D.), Verus died early in 169, and were any later date than 61 B.C. adopted for the beginning of the era of Gaza, the date of this coin would fall after Verus's death.

Further verification of the date October 28, 61 B.C., as the beginning of the Gazæan era, is afforded by a number of mortuary inscriptions on Christian tombstones found at Gaza, which give the day, month, and year of the Gazæan era, and the indiction year. These inscriptions are as follows: —

I

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1892, 240)

Θηκη του μακαρι	A monument of the most blessed
οτα του Ζηνονος νι	Zeno, daughter of
α Βαλυος και Μεγα	Balys and Megale.
λης. εκατετεθη	She was buried in the
μηνι Υπερβερετεου	month Hyperbereteos
βκ του εξφ ετους.	22d day of the year 565
ινδ γι	Ind. 13

II

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1893, 203)

ενδαδε	Here
κατετεθη	was buried
ο μακαριος	the blessed
Γεροντιος τη	Gerontios on the

κβ μη Λωου ινδ δ	22d day of the month Loos Ind. 4
του αοφ ετους	of the year 571

III

(From Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches*, xi, 403)

θηκη της [μακαριας]	Monument of the blessed
Θεωδοτης θ(υγατρος)	Theodote, daughter
του μακαριο(τατου) [Βαλυος]	of the most blessed Balys
και Μεγαλης α[νε]	and of Megale. She died
παη μη Ξανθικο[. . .	in the month Xanthikos . . .
του θπφ ετου(ς)	of the year 589
ινδι, ζ	indiction, 7

IV

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1893, 204)

Δεσιω η ιν	On the eighth of Desios
δ. β. του	of the indiction 2
ΘϚΦ ετους	of the year 599

V

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1893, 204)

κ(υρι)ε αναπαυσον	O Lord, grant rest to
την δουλην σου	thy servant Digounthas, child of
Διγουνθαν Λεον	Leontios. Here she was
τιου. ενθαδε κα	buried in the month Loos
τετεθη μη Λωου	the 21st day of the year 601
κα του αχ ινδ. δ	ind. 4

VI

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1893, 204)

ενθαδε	Here
κιτε ο του	lies the
Χ(ριστου) δου	servant of Christ,
λος κ(αι) εν	and among the saints,
αγιοις	Abraamios
Αβρααμι	son of Patricius
ος Πατρι	the deacon
κιου διακ(ονος)	on the fourth of
τη Επαγο	the Epagomene, of the year
μενη δ του	601
αχ ετους	Ind. 4
ινδ. δ	

VII

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1892, 241)

Μητρας κα . . .	Metras . . .
πων το λοιπο[ν . . .	. . . the rest . . .
βειον αυτου εν[θα]	of his life. Here
δε παραγενετο	he grew to maturity.
ανεπαη δε εκ	He rested from
των μοχθων	his troubles
εν μη Γορπι(αιου) δ	on the 4th of the month
του αχ ετους ινδ ε	Gorpaios, of the year 601,
	Ind. 5

VIII

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1892, 243)

ενθαδε κατ	Here was
ετηθη η του θ(εου) δο	buried the servant
υλη Ουσια Θυγατ	of God, Ousia, the daughter
ηρ Τιμοθεου εν	of Timotheos, in the
μη Δαισιου αι του κα	month Daisios, the 11th day of the
τα Γαζ(αιους) γηχ ιν	year 623, according to the Gazæans,
δ. αι	Ind. 11

IX

(From *Revue Biblique*, 1894, 248)

κατετηθη η	Was buried
δουλη του Χ(ριστο)υ θεο	the servant of Christ
δωρα μη Δαισιου	Theodora in the month Daisios,
ε του βξχ ινδ ε	the 5th day, of the year 662, ind. 5.
κατετηθη ο του	Was buried the
Χ(ριστο)υ δουλος Ηλιας	servant of Christ, Elias,
μη Υπερβερετ(αιου) βκ	on the 22d of the month Hyperberetaios
του θξχ ινδ γι	of the year 669, ind. 13

Besides the months here mentioned, there are found, with less accurate dating, the months Peritios,[27] Artemesios,[28] and Dios.[29] As Marcus Diaconus mentions Apellaios, Audynaios, and Dystros, verification is found of all the months mentioned in the Hemerologium except Panemos. It is interesting to note how Inscription No. VIII specifies the Gazæan era. It may be

noted here that the indiction system was of Byzantine origin. It was a period of fifteen years, beginning in 312 A.D., and was reckoned from September 1 to September 1. A summary of the results obtained from the examination of these inscriptions may now be given. In them it is found that —

Hyperberetaios 22,	565 A.G.,	Ind. 13,	corresponds	to	Oct. 19, 505 A.D.
Loos 22,	589 A.G.,	Ind. 4,	"	"	Aug. 15, 511 A.D.
Xanthikos,	589 A.G.,	Ind. 7,	"	"	Apr. ?, 529 A.D.
Daisios 8,	599 A.G.,	Ind. 2,	"	"	June 2, 539 A.D.
Loos 21,	601 A.G.,	Ind. 4,	"	"	Aug. 14, 541 A.D.
Epagomenai 4,	601 A.G.,	Ind. 4,	"	"	Aug. 27, 541 A.D.
Gorpaios 4,	601 A.G.,	Ind. 5,	"	"	Sept. 1, 541 A.D.
Daisios 11,	623 A.G.,	Ind. 11,	"	"	June 5, 563 A.D.
Daisios 5,	662 A.G.,	Ind. 5,	"	"	May 30, 602 A.D.
Hyperberetaios 22,	669 A.G.,	Ind. 13,	"	"	Oct. 19, 609 A.D.

That the indiction year began September 1 is attested by the three entries of the year 601 A.G., where the first two are indiction 4, and the third, which is September 1, is indiction 5. And further, note that between May 30, 602, and October 19, 609, there is a difference of *eight* indiction years. As Hyperberetaios 22, 565 A.G. (= October 19, 505 A.D.) should be in indiction year 14, it is assumed that the "13" in the inscription is due to a mason's error. The above results also bear out the statement of Marcus Diaconus that Daisios was the first month of the Gazæan year. They also corroborate the Hemerologium in that the Epagomenai were intercalated before Gorpaios, in accordance with Egyptian practice. There are yet three inscriptions from Gaza which offer a problem to the investigator. They read as follows: [30] —

εν μη Δαισιω δ̅ι̅ του γ̅λ ετους ινδ β̅ι̅.
εν μη Διου ζ του θλ ετους ινδ γ.
εν μη Διω θκ του η̅π̅ ετους ινδ ζ.

The 14th of Daisios, anno 33, ind. 12.
The 7th of Dios, anno 39, ind. 3.
The 29th of Dios, anno 88, ind. 7.

It is curious that the hundreds are omitted from the dates of these three inscriptions. What is to be supplied, *chi* (600) or *phi* (500)? Paleographically, these inscriptions correspond with the above-dated ones, *i.e.* between the dates 565 A.G. and 669 A.G. If *chi* be supplied, it makes the dates all at variance with the indiction years; and the same is true if *phi* be supplied; *e.g.* Daisios 14, 533, corresponds to June 8, 473. But the indiction began in 462, so that 473 should be 11, not 12; and the same is true with all the other dates.

Clermont-Ganneau thinks that it is the era of Askelon. He says that the era of the Seleucidae cannot be meant; for in that case, the indiction years would not correspond. Nor could these dates be of the era of Maioumas or of Hadrian; for these eras were not so long enduring; he therefore concludes that the era must be that of Askelon. He states that the third of these inscriptions is known to have come from there, and he therefore assumes that the others did likewise. According to the Hemerologium, the year at Askelon was little different from that at Gaza, *e.g.* it began October 28, but with the first of Hyperberetaios; and the Epagomenai were intercalated between Panemos and Loos. He begins the Askelonite cycle 104 A.D. This, then, would bring about the following equations:—

Daisios 14, 533 A.A., ind. 12, corresponds to July 8, 429, ind. 12.
Dios 7, 539 A.A., ind. 3, corresponds to Dec. 3, 434, ind. 3.
Dios 29, 588 A.A., ind. 7, corresponds to Dec. 25, 483, ind. 7.

But, as Schuerer points out, the Askelonite origin of the inscriptions is doubtful; and, further, it is a question whether the era of Askelon began in 104 or in 105. The problem of these dates remains unsolved.

In connection with this era but one question remains to be discussed: From what date or event did the Gazaeans reckon their era? As Gabinius, the rebuilder of the city, did not come to Syria till 57 B.C., the era does not date back to this restoration of Gaza. It must begin with some event in the life of Pompey. In 64/63 B.C. Pompey was in Syria; in 63 B.C. Jerusalem was

captured, and matters were rearranged in Judea. The coast cities from Raphia to Dora, the Hellenistic cities across the Jordan, Scythopolis and Samaria, were taken from the Jews and placed directly under the rule of the Roman governor of Syria. Many of these cities reckoned their eras from this event. But the Pompeian era was not the same throughout Syria. Most of the cities reckoned 63 B.C. as the beginning of their eras, but as has been shown, Gaza began with 61 B.C. It may be that this year was chosen because in it Pompey celebrated his Oriental triumph in Rome.[31]

There is another unique era connected with the city of Gaza. On several coins of the Emperor Hadrian a double dating is noticeable, *e.g.* Γ. ΕΠΙ. ΒϚΡ; Δ. ΕΠΙ. ΓϚΡ; Ε. ΕΠΙ. ΔϚΡ; Ε. ΕΠΙ. ΕϚΡ. This era dated from the time of the visit of the emperor to the city, when he instituted games and showed other marks of his favor to Gaza. This occurred 129–130 A.D. According to the coins, the beginning of this Hadrianic year was not concurrent with that of the old local era. It must have begun sometime during the middle of the old year; for it is seen on the coins that the year "E" of the Hadrianic era corresponds to the years 194 and 195 A.G. There are no evidences that this era lasted after the death of the emperor, in 138 A.D.

[1] For this whole chapter, consult Schuerer, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften,* 1896, no. 41, pp. 1065 *sqq.,* "Der Kalendar und die Aera von Gaza." [2] Ed. Dindorf, 1, 352. [3] The Leyden Ms. was published by Sainte-Croix in his *Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres,* vol. xlvii., 1809, pp. 66–89. The Florentine Mss. have not been edited. They are catalogued Plut. 28, cod. 16 and 26. [4] For these inscriptions, see Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches,* ii., pp. 400–429; *Revue Biblique,* 1892, p. 239; 1893, p. 203; 1894, p. 428. [5] *Op. cit.,* c. 19. [6] *Ibid.,* c. 21. [7] *Ibid.,* c. 54. [8] *Ibid.,* c. 103. [9] *Ibid.* [10] *Ibid.,* c. 15. [11] Cf. *supra.* [12] *Musei Sanclementiani Numismata Selecta,* ii., lib. iii., pp. 252–260; iv., pp. 153–9. [13] Marc. Diac., cc. 15–18. [14] *Ibid.,* c. 19. [15] *Ibid.,* c. 21. [16] *Ibid.,* c. 22. [17] *Ibid.,* c. 25. [18] *Ibid.,* c. 26. [19] *De Viris Illustribus,* c. 130. [20] Schuerer, *op. cit.* [21] Quoted by Schuerer, *op. cit.* [22] lxxvi. 5. [23] Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 3. [24] *Ibid.,* lxxvi. 3. [25] Schuerer, *op. cit.* [26] 130 A.G., *i.e.* 69–70 A.D. [27] Clermont-Ganneau, *Researches,* ii. 405. [28] *Ibid.,*

p. 409. [29] *Ibid.*, pp. 412, 413. [30] *Ibid.*, ii. 405, 409, 412–13. [31] In order to change dates A.G. (Gazæan era) into their corresponding dates A.D., deduct 61 from the former date, if it be between October 28 and December 31, both inclusive; or 60 if the date be between January 1 and October 27, both inclusive.

CHAPTER XIV

INSCRIPTIONS

In contrast to the general scarcity of inscriptions in Palestine, the number discovered at Gaza, as surface finds, is strikingly large. This fact offers a decided inducement for more detailed and thorough investigation, exploration, and excavation of this site. Besides the coins, whose inscriptions give them an added paleographic interest, and the inscriptions noted in the section on *Calendation*, there is quite a large number of inscriptions of Gaza which will now be presented and discussed. None is of any great antiquity. In fact, none is pre-Christian in date; but all are nevertheless interesting and valuable. Most of them are in Greek; but a Hebrew one also, of some interest, has been found and two Samaritan ones.

In the Great Mosque, on one of the columns, in the second row of pillars of the center aisle, is an inscription in Hebrew and Greek. It is described by Clermont-Ganneau [1] as accompanied by a bas-relief of a seven-branched candlestick, inscribed in a crown; and below this is a sort of cartouche containing the bilingual inscription. The wreath is closed at the top with an egg-shaped gem, and the fillet terminates in flowing ends of ivy leaves. In the center of the wreath is a conventional picture of a candlestick, flanked on either side with a horn of oil, and a sacrificial knife. The inscription is about 0.48 m. in height and reads as follows:—

X

חנניה בר יעקב

ANANIA

YIΩIAKΩ

The sides of the cartouche contain conventionalized presentations of palm-branches. The Greek is written in the style of the second and third centuries. The interest centers rather in the curious form *Ιακω*, which here unquestionably represents *Ιακωβ*. *Ιακω* may be a parallel form in Hellenistic Greek to *Ιακωβ*. Comparison may be made of a text found by Maspero at Hadrumetium, which reads as follows: *τον θεον του Αβρααμ και τον Ιαω τον του Ιακου*. Maspero corrects this last to *Ισακου*; but perhaps *Ιακουβ* is meant; so that *Ιακου* is from a nominative *Ιακος*.

Examination of a squeeze brought from Jaffa shows *παρα Ιακω*; and a graffitus from Mt. Sinai[2] has *Ιακω* with *Ιωβ*, both pointing to the same form of Jacob. Moreover, the form of the name in the Romance languages should be borne in mind; *e.g.* Iago (Diego, Tiego) and Jacques, which seem to indicate the elision of the final *b*; also the omission of the last letter in the name יוסף, which later became יוסא; יוסי; יוסה, and in Greek and Latin, Ιωσης, Ειοση, *Jose*.

The dative *υιω* seems to indicate that the inscription is dedicated to and not by Hananiah. It is not a funerary inscription, but one erected in honor of Hananiah. The custom of erecting such pillars existed in Palmyra. It would indicate that this pillar was erected in honor of Hananiah because of his services, probably to some synagogue. If this be a correct conclusion, then the question arises when, if ever, did the Jews build in Gaza so fine a synagogue as this pillar would seem to indicate? No record exists to show that the Jews obtained any hold there during pagan times; and such a building would surely not have been allowed in Christian times. It is more than likely that the pillar was brought to Gaza from Alexandria or Cæsarea.[3] In the fifth century, when Eudoxia built the basilica, she sent thirty-two columns to be used in the construction.[4] It is not certain whence these pillars were taken. According to a tradition, the Crusaders' church was built on the site of the basilica of Eudoxia; and this church in time was converted into the present mosque. However, there were other Byzantine churches in Gaza from the

materials of which the later structures might have been built; *e.g.* the churches of St. Sergius and of St. Stephen, which were built by the Bishop Marcianus, under Justinian. The good bishop used for his churches the old materials which he found at hand. Choricius of Gaza describes these churches with much detail. On another column of the mosque near by is a cross which the Moslems have tried to erase, and on another the holes for holding a similar crucifix are found.

In the description, given above, of the race-course at Maidan el-Zaid, built by the Saracens some seven hundred years ago, reference has been made to an inscribed pillar.[5] This is no doubt a mortuary inscription of the usual type. It reads as follows: —

XI

(From *P.E.F.Q.S.*, April, 1875)

Δομεστικο(ς)	Domesticus
υπερ Δομε	over Dom-
στικου υ	estikus his
ιου ανεθη	son erect
κεν. . . .	ed. . . .

The same number of the *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875, reports a few other inscriptions of more or less value. From Sheikh Rashîd, four miles south of Gaza, comes this brief one. It is no doubt Christian, and contains a number of abbreviations which we are no longer able to interpret.

XII

+ HΛIN

The cover of a well containing an inscription, in bad condition, was found in the courtyard of the El Khudra[5a] mosque at Der Belch.[6] The first line is worn away; and what remains makes no sense. It reads as follows: —

XIII

EҒE
MAYPE . . . APΛPIANO
AΠO . . . . IN HC IOYΛTΘ

A slab in the floor of the mosque, near the cenotaph of St. George, contains the following inscriptions: —

XIV

Ιτιψθιελρατε . . . ω
Αμα απολλοδωρω
ου εκτων Ιδιων ευχα

In the section of this work on *Antiquities*,[7] mention is made of a weight with an inscription which reads as follows: —

XIVa

ΓΔΞΡΑ
ΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΥΝΤΟΣ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

Clermont-Ganneau[8] interprets it as (*ετους*) *δξε αγορανομουντος Δικαιου*, "The year 164, Dikaios being agoranomos."[9] The date 164 is no doubt of the Gazæan era, and corresponds to 103–104 A.D.

Several well-known flags in the floor of the Great Mosque show traces of a wreath. There is another with a Greek inscription five lines long; but only line four can be read.

XV

μη(νι) (Ξ)ανθικο(υ), and in line five, *ινδ*.

It is probably a Christian inscription like those discussed in the section on *Calendation*.[10]

XVI

Another stone near by contained a well-worn inscription, of which only the letters ON are legible.

In an outer courtyard is a flag with this remnant of an inscription and a cross: —

XVII

+ (Ε)ΝΘΑΔΕ Κ[ΕΙΤΑΙ].[11]

In the house of M. Pickard, this fragment was found: —

XVIII

. . . μιος μεν μη(νι) . . . ? μφ. Αμεν.

". . . mios in the month . . . (of the year) 54?. Amen." . . .[12]

Inscription I (section on *Calendation*) was found in the house of 'Atâllah el-Terzy. The inscription is preceded and followed by a cross; and at the end is a conventionalized palm-branch. Inscription II is also preceded and followed by a cross; and III is the same as I. It also comes from the house of 'Atâllah el-Terzy. No V. was found at the house of Saliba 'Awad. It is preceded by a small cross; and beneath it is a cross upon a trefoil, suggesting the hill of crucifixion.

No. VI was found at Jirius Na'mât; it is broken in two, and measures 70 cm. × 27 cm. The sign of the cross also begins the first line of this inscription. No. VII was found at the Greek convent. It measures 65 cm. × 50 cm. The right corner is missing. Below the inscription is a cross and an egg-shaped symbol. No. VIII is followed by the sign of the cross upon a trilobed hill. No. IX was found at Yûsuf Saba. It measures 129 cm. × 26 cm. The first line is cropped. It is interesting because it consists of two separate inscriptions. Each half is preceded by a cross; and the first part is separated from the second by a conventionalized palm-branch.

From the house of Saliba 'Awad came a brief line, which is in all probability to be connected with No. IV. It measures 36 cm. × 25 cm. and reads as follows: —

XIX

+ ενθαδε κατετηθ[η] Στεφανος ὁ ευλαβ(εστατος) μη(νι)

"Here was buried Stephen, the most pious, in the month" . . .

As the fragment containing No. IV is of the same dimensions, and was found in the same place, it is very likely that the two form one whole.

The following inscriptions are reported by Clermont-Ganneau.[13] From the same house came a brief and unintelligible fragment, measuring 20 cm. in width and reading as follows: —

XX

. . . ιω . . . του . . . φετους

". . . of the year 500."

The slab bearing the following inscription is now to be found in the Room of Christian Antiquities (No. 3266) of the Louvre Museum. The last line is badly preserved. It no doubt contained the day of the month, and the year of the indiction. It reads as follows: —

XXI

+ του Κ ἡ γη και το +	Of the Lord is the earth and the
πληρωμα αὐτης	fullness thereof.
+ επι Αλεξανδρου	over Alexander
διακονου επλα	deacon, was executed
κωθη τα ωδε	this paving.
ετους χ μ(ηνι) Περιτιου	year, 600 month Peritios
ιω . . .	. . . . . .

Another fragment is from the house of Saliba 'Awad. The height of the cross which precedes it is 12 cm. It stands on a trilobed Golgotha.

XXII

το(υ) αχ ινδ . . .	Of the year 601, ind. . . .

The Greek vicar of Gaza found this inscription. It measures 72 cm. × 29 cm. and is ornamented on the top with a large cross of open work. To the right and left are two stars and two palm-branches, and beneath is a small vase. A peculiar lozenge surmounts the cross.

XXIII

+ ανεπαη μακαρ(ια) Αθανασια μη(νι) Αρτεμ(ι)σιου ιζ του ηχ ετους +

"The blessed Athanasia died on the 17th of Artemisios, of the year 608."

The vicar also found this inscription, measuring 36 cm. × 21 cm: —

XXIV

+ Ενθαδε κιται η του ΧΥ	Here lies the servant of
δουλη Μεγιστηρια	Christ, Megisteria,

Τιμοθεου θυγατηρ	daughter of Timotheus,
τον βιον ἀπθεμενε εν μη	she lay down her life in the month
Δαισω $\overline{\delta\iota}$ του γλ ετους	Daisios, the 14th, of the year 33,
ινδς βι. κ.	Ind. 12

The following is on a marble slab, 55 cm. broad, very imperfect at the top: —

XXV

[ἀνεπα]η δε ἐκ των αὐτου μοχθων εν $\overset{\eta}{\mu}$ Διου ζ̃ του $\overline{\theta\lambda}$ ετους ινδς γ.

"He rested from his troubles on the seventh of the month, Dios, of the year 38, ind. 3."

The following is on a slab that is said to have come from Askelon. It was found at the house of Abdallah el-Sarrâj, and has a breadth of 45 cm.

XXVI

+ ἡ του $\overline{\text{XY}}$ κ(αι) των	The servant of Christ
ἁγιων δουλη Ἀνα	and of the saints, Anas-
στασια Ιωαννου	tasia, (daughter) of John
Μαρηιβδηνου εν	Mareabdenes, was
θαδε κατετεθη	buried here.
$\overset{\eta}{\mu}$ Διω $\overline{\theta\kappa}$ του ηπ ετς	on the 28th of Dios, of the year 88
ινδς ζ +	Ind. 7

XXVII

$\overline{\text{KE}}$ αναπαυσον	Lord, grant rest to
την δουλην σου	thy servant
Αναστασιαν επι	Anastasia . . . . .
μαχου-δφ εστ(?)	. . . .
ενθαδε κατε	Here she was
[τεθη]	Buried . . . . . .

The Latin missionary at Gaza is responsible for the following brief inscription. It consists of three lines, flanked by palm-branches. The slab is of black schist, and the top is cut in the shape of a semicircle. It is broken in two. The letters are of the fifth century. The hollows are filled with red pigment.

XXVIII

+ Μηνα Κοσμιανη κασ(ιγνητη) αυτου. Mena Kosmiane his sister. . . .

The house of M. Pickard furnished this fragment also. It measures 35 cm. × 28 cm., is broken across, and is much worn.

XXIX

+ ανεπ[αη]	Rested
ο μακαρ[ιος]	the blessed
Ιωανν[ης]	John
Αμεν . . .	Amen . . .
η . . . εσ . . .	. . . . . .

The same house furnishes this very brief line of 10 cm. It is roughly cut and badly worn. It reads as follows: —

XXX

+ ἀνεπαε ω μακ[αριος] "Rested the blessed . . ."

It is interesting to note the use of the *omega* as the definite article; this is probably a mason's error.

XXXI. These few words were found on a stone 21 cm. in length in the house of Hajji ʽOthmân: —

Ισακος Ιου "Isaac, son of Iov. . . .

XXXII. This is an unintelligible fragment consisting of only a few letters, on a slab some 23 cm. in breadth: —

μ(?) κ . . .	. . . . . .
ιανος	. . . . . .

XXXIII. This interesting relic came from Askelon. It is a carved marble cross, 60 cm. in height, standing on a tri-lobed Golgotha. The end of each branch of the cross and the center is inscribed with a Greek letter in the following manner: —

```
  Φ          L
Z Ω H      L I F E
  C          G
             H
             T
```

XXXIV. This inscription is found on a flagstone broken in three pieces. It measures 40 cm. × 45 cm. It was picked up on the seashore and is very incomplete.

. . . ite sic Juvenalis
de omnes uno
aeter)na trinita (s) in
e dignetur
ς Δομετ(ι)ανος
αι +

There was a Juvenalis, bishop of Jerusalem under Theodosius II. in the fifth century. Dometianos, the disciple of St. Euthymios, was ordained by Juvenalis; but it seems difficult on paleographic grounds to assign the inscription to the fifth century. The inscription may refer to some event in the life of Juvenalis when he had been consecrated bishop of the coast and had asserted his supremacy of the see of Jerusalem. Nestoras, bishop of Gaza, supported Juvenalis at the council of Ephesus.

XXXV. This inscription was found at Eleusis by M. Skias, and was first published in the *Ephemeris Archæologike* of 1894 and republished in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1899, ser. 3. While not strictly a Gazæan inscription, dealing as it does with a distinguished son of that city, it is entitled to a place in this summary. It was inscribed on a pedestal of Pentelic marble, 1.15 m. in height, 0.52 m. in width, and 0.60 m. in thickness, and reads as follows: —

Πτολεμαῖον Σερήνου Φοινικάρχου υἱον Γαζαιον
καὶ ἄλλων πόλεων πολίτην εὔνοιας ἕνεκεν τῆς
εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς π(ε)ρὶ λόγους
ἀσκήσεως ἀμειθομενοι ἀνεστησαν οἱ σεμνότατοι
Ἀρεοπαγῖται παρὰ ταῖς θεαις.

"The most august members of the Areopagus erected [this image] of Ptolemaeus, son of Serenes, the Phœnikarch, a son of Gaza and a citizen of other cities, because of his good-will to the city, and his goodness, and his skill in speech."

Another inscription which may be classed with this last one, as it refers to Gaza though not found there, is that on the statue erected to Gordianus III. (238-44) by the citizens of Gaza in the Portus Trajanus.[14] It reads as follows: —

XXXVI

Αγαθη τυχη
Αυτοκρατορα Καισαρα
Μ. Αντονιον
Γορδιανον. Ευσεβη
Ευτυχη. Σεβαστον
Κοσμοκρατορα ἡ πολις
Η των Γαζαίων ἱερα και
'Ασυλος και αὐτονομος
Πιστη ἡ εὐσεβης λαμπρα
Και μεγαλη ἐξ ἐνκλυσεως
Τον πατριου Θεου
Τον ἑαυτης εὐεργετην
Δια Τιβ. Κλ. Παπειρου
Επιμελητου του ἱερου.

Good Fortune!
The city of the Gazæans, sacred, and an asylum, and autonomous, faithful, pious, splendid and great [erected this statue of] the autocrat Cæsar M. Antonius Gordianus, the pious and the fortunate, Augustus, World-ruler, by command of the native deity, because of his good works, through Tiberius Claudius Papeirus, curator of the sanctuary

The *Revue Biblique*, 1903, p. 427, reported the following inscription found at Eleutheropolis: —

XXXVII

ἐν μη(νι) Λωου κ του ϛοφ ἐτους ινδ. θ.

"On the 20th of the month Loos, of the year 576, indiction 9."

This is evidently not dated according to the Eleutheropolitan calendar, as then the date would correspond with Aug. 8, 775. Firstly, this would be the thirteenth year of the indiction; secondly, the local calendar did not obtain till so late a date. Nor is it according to the Christian calendar, which had not become so general in its use at this date. It is most likely dated according to the Gazæan era; the date would then correspond with Aug. 12, 516. Probably in its original situation, the inscription was so placed that there could be no doubt as to the era used.[15]

The following inscription was first published in the *Revue Biblique*, 1901, p. 580, and later discussed by Clermont-Gan-

neau in his *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale,* v., 57. It reads as follows: —

XXXVIII

+ Ανεπαε	+ Rested
ὁ μακαρ(ιος)	the blessed
Σωσεβις	Sosibios
ὁ Γυ + οκ . . . τη	the plasterer on the
περιτ(ιου) γι ζκιχ	13th of Peritios, 674,
ινδ ε	indiction 5.

This inscription belongs to the same class as those Christian funerary inscriptions discussed in the previous chapter. The date is apparently of the Gazæan era, and the correspondence between the indiction year and the other date is correct as given. Σωσεβις is no doubt a vulgar form of the more generally known Σωσιβιος. The only difficulty which the inscription presents is the fourth sign in the fourth line. The first editors read it as a cross, and endeavored to find in the word an ethnic designation, but without success. Clermont-Ganneau [16] reads this letter as "ψ," suggesting that the fancy of the stonecutter caused him to give the letter the form of the cross. He finds then that the word is to be read γυψοκος, "a plasterer"; a word formed on the analogy of ἀρτοκοπος, "a baker."

A Samaritan inscription of nineteen lines is reported by Clermont-Ganneau, but aside from indicating that it is of a liturgical character, its contents are not made known,[17] as he failed to copy or photograph it. Another inscription in the same characters is reported by Abel. It is a fragment of the Decalogue, breaking off at "likeness." It is prefaced with בשם יהוה, which seems to indicate an origin in the Moslem period.[18]

The author is in receipt of the following brief description of the Arabic inscriptions of Gaza from Max van Berchem, the learned editor of the Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, together with his permission to publish the same: —

"The most striking characteristic of the Arabic epigraphy of Gaza is that all the inscriptions belong to the later Mameluke

and Ottoman sultans. The only older one which I [Van Berchem] found is a Cufic inscription in the sanctuary of the mosque 'al-Maḥkama in the quarter el-Sajja'iyya; unfortunately, this well-preserved text is not dated, but as it contains only invocations, it is without any historical information. The absence of early Arabic texts in Gaza can be explained by the fact that both before and after the Crusades, under Moslem rule, Gaza remained a very small and unimportant place up to the time of the early Mamelukes.

"In the Great Mosque the following inscriptions are preserved: Two of Sultan Lâgin dated Rabî' I. and Sha'ban, 697 A.H.; four of Mohammed el-Nâṣir, of the years 706, 718, Muḥarram 730, and the fourth one undated; one of sultan Mohammed, son of Ḳait Bay, of Ramadan, 903. The sultan Skeikh has an inscription in the Mosque Ibn Othmân, dated Sha'ban 821.

"The other inscriptions in the Great Mosque and in the numerous sanctuaries of the city belong to various emirs and officers under the Mameluke sultans, several of these relating to the emir Sanjar el-Jâwali, the first governor of Gaza under the sultan Mohammed el-Nâṣir. I found, besides these, building inscriptions, and others mentioning public works, or charitable endowments (*wakf*), and several decrees remitting taxes (*marsūm*). Some unimportant texts of Ottoman officials are also found. A number of funerary and commemorative inscriptions occur, mentioning the names of local sheikhs and saints. The oldest of these, in fact the oldest dated Arabic inscription of the city, is in the little mosque of Sheikh Ilyâs, Ṣafar 671 (1272 A.D.)."

[1] *Arch. Researches*, ii., pp. 389 *sqq.* [2] Lepsius, no. 84; Euting, no. 510. [3] Cf. the pillars of Egyptian granite used in the building of the church at Tyre: also the several Egyptian sarcophagi found along the Phœnician coast. [4] Marc. Diac., c. 84. [5] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875. [5a] St. George and the prophet Elijah are frequently referred to under this name. [6] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875. [7] *Cf. infra.* [8] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, October, 1893. [9] A market inspector, whose chief function was supervision of weights and measures.

[10] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1875. [11] *Ibid.* [12] *Ibid.* [13] *Arch. Researches*, ii., 420 *sqq.* [14] *C. I. Gr.*, no. 5892. [15] W. Kubitschek, *Kalendarstudien*, Jahreshefte d. oesterrischischen Institutes in Wien, viii., p. 97. [16] *Op. cit.* [17] *Arch. Researches*, ii., p. 430. [18] Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, pp. 276, 277; R. B., 1906, p. 84.

CHAPTER XV

ANTIQUITIES AT GAZA

As no systematic excavations have ever been conducted at Gaza, all the antiques which have come from the place have been surface finds. No doubt, many valuable ones have passed into the hands of the ignorant who either destroyed them or did not appreciate the importance of the knowledge to be gained from exact information as to the provenance of archaeological discoveries. Thus they have been absorbed into the great mass of undated, unlocalized Palestinian antiques. In 1660 Chevalier D'Arvieux and Pater Moronne, under the patronage of the local government, made the first attempt at a thorough exploration of the site of the old city, and the pasha conducted some excavations on the supposed site of the temple of Dagon. The general survey of western Palestine made by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1871–75 and 1878–79 also included Gaza. The place was again visited and carefully examined by Clermont-Ganneau; and Gatt has done some good work here for the Deutscher Palestina Verein. The number of other scientific or quasi-scientific visitors to this site, as well as to other Palestinian localities, is too great for more than the merest mention. A site so well determined as this, in so promising a locality, where even surface finds have been more abundant than in most parts of Palestine, surely suggests itself as a desirable one for excavation.

The most important find yet made at Gaza and in its neighborhood was the great statue discovered at Tell Ajjûl, one and one-half hours south of Gaza, by the natives of the village on Sept. 6, 1879. The statue was buried in the deep sand on a hill some 50 m. high. It lay on its left side, with its head to the southwest, its face toward the sea, and its lower extremity

to the northeast. It was only cut to the hips. The back was a square block, no doubt to be attached to some building. A cloak was draped over the left shoulder. The plinth was roughly cut. The breast of the statue was very well preserved. The head and hair were less well preserved, the nose in particular being broken off. The forehead also was badly damaged; and the left arm was missing. It may be that the arm was outstretched and broke off when the statue was thrown down:[1] there is little or no trace of it on the body. According to the observations of another investigator[2] the left arm was folded across the breast. The right arm is broken at the elbow; and most of the shoulder is hidden under the robe. The beard is long and full; and the hair falls in long locks to the shoulder. There is no inscription upon the statue. It is about 3.28 m. high, including the base upon which it stands. The base is 1 m. high, 90 cm. wide, and 70 cm. thick. Beneath the statue a mosaic floor was found, all trace of which has disappeared. The statue does not show very high-class artistic work. It is decidedly not Assyrian in character, but most likely Greco-Roman. The material of which it is made is not marble, but "chalesi," stone from the old town of Elasa (Chalasa). It is a yellow sandstone, hard, and of very fine grain. The statue is apparently seated. It may have been sawn in two for the purpose of transportation, and buried in the sand to protect it from the Christians. It was rescued from the natives, who had already begun to destroy it, by the missionary Shapira,[3] and is now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. The reporter in the *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1882,[4] calls it the "Gazaean Jupiter." S. Reinach[5] identifies it with Zeus. G. A. Smith[6] mentions its likeness to the Greek Zeus, and thinks it is Marnas; so also Guthe.[7] The *Archaologische Zeitschrift*[8] thinks it a statue of Serapis. It is more than likely that its identification with Zeus-Marnas is correct.

A bas-relief is also reported in the *P.E.F.Q.S.*, 1898, April, of Byzantine workmanship, similar to those with which Choccius says his town and the other coast cities of Philistia were

adorned. An investigator[9] reports the following finds: In Nasara, a full hour south of Gaza, a well-built cistern was destroyed whose stones were brought to Gaza. A mosaic was found there some years before, somewhat to the south; but it has been destroyed. The site where the Jupiter-Marnas statue was found was searched for dressed stones, but with no results. The east wall of Maioumas, 3 m. thick, is at present buried in the sand. Ten capitals are also to be seen there strewn along the coast. Guerin saw the south wall of the harbor, too; but it is now no longer visible. He also observed a number of pillars and capitals in the sea at this point. Just north of Sheikh 'Ajlûn many dressed stones of good quality are found. Near the Bâb el-Dârûm, by the quarantine station, is a Moslem cemetery. It contains seven marble shafts, pillars from old buildings. The Arabic inscriptions in this cemetery are in some cases seven hundred years old. The race-course at Maidan el-Zaid is marked by four stones, one of which is inscribed. It was built by the Saracens some seven hundred years ago. The goals were no doubt pillars removed from old Roman buildings.

Clermont-Ganneau reports the following finds:[10] —

A white marble "chimera and griffin" bas-relief, with the rear portions of a deer and a doe thereon.

A fish of dark green schist, 12 × 7 cm., which was no doubt a votive offering. Does this point to the practice of ichthyolatry at Gaza?

A small figure of gold, in the Egyptian style, 2.5 cm. high, with an eye in the back for suspension.

A small lion of gold, also in the Egyptian style, 2 cm. in length. There is a cartouche on the base which has been read "(A) men-Ra, the enneadian, god of the two lands."

A plain sarcophagus of calcareous conglomerate, 1.05 m. × 40 cm.

A bronze ape, about 6 cm. long, which may also be taken for a figure with human head. The feet are broken and the workmanship is very rude.

Two figurines, suspensible. One is a winged Eros; the other, Artemis wearing a diadem.

A bronze mirror, flat and round, about 15 cm. in diameter. The back is engraved with a series of concentric circles; and it is provided with movable handles. The discovery of a square weight of lead is reported,[11] which weighs about 144 grammes and is inscribed thus:—

ΙΔΞΡΑ
ΓΟΡΑΝΟ
ΜΟΥΝΤΟϚ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

This is read by Ganneau as follows:—

(ετους) ΔΞΕ, αγορανομουντος Δικαιου
"The year 164, Dikaios being agoranomos."

It was found at Khirbet Lakhiyah, which is probably Bait Lakhyah, just north of Gaza. The date, 164, is no doubt that of the era of Gaza, which began Oct. 28, 61 B.C., so that the weight dates from 103–104 A.D. For purposes of comparison, reference may be made to Waddington, *Inscriptions*, No. 1. 904, where the inscription

κολωνιας Γαζης ἐπι Ἡρωδου Διοφαντου
("of the colony of Gaza, under Herodes Diophantes")

is found on a similar weight. On the back of this second weight is a Phœnician *mem*, the initial letter of the name of the local Gazæan deity, Marnas. The weight of this one is 178 grammes. On the new-found weight there are no symbols upon the back, only series of parallel lines crossing each other at acute angles. The Herodes weight has the letters ΙΕ or ΛΕ; but they are very indistinct. It may be of the year 15, or the year 35. It is likely that the weights were dated according to the ephemeral era of Hadrian, which the emperor instituted at Gaza on the occasion of his visit in 130. There are several coins of this era. A few years later, a similar weight was dis-

covered in the vicinity of Gaza.[12] This one is .093 m. × .089 m. × .0045 m., weighs 313.9 grammes, and is provided with a handle at the top. On the one side is the figure of a horseman and an inscription, and on the other a draped female figure holding a cornucopia in her left hand and a balance in her right. About the figure is the word *Δικαιοσυνη* ("Justice"). It may have been a model for coin artists. The influences of Alexandrian art are very pronounced. The female figure may be that of Isis, who was often adored under the name of Justice. The legend on the obverse reads as follows: —

ετους ςπ β ἑξαμηνου ἐπι Ἀλεξανδρου Ἀλφιου αγορανομου.

"The year 86, the second semester, under Alexander Alphios as agoranome."

The year 86 A.G. would correspond to 25–26 A.D.; but the character of the writing is later, and the style of the figurines also. If the era referred to be that of Hadrian, it would make the date 216, which would be too late, according to the testimony of the paleography and the art. Nor was the era of Hadrian of so long a duration. The question arises, is it possible that here is an object whose provenance is misleading; and that its real home is some other place from which it has been carried to the site where it was found? For example, if the object came from Askelon, where a new era was instituted in 104, the facts would fit in better. No definite conclusion can be reached on this point in view of present knowledge of the matter.

[1] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii., 1884, pp. 1–14. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., p. 185. [3] Shapira's connection with the finding of the statue tended at first to discredit the authenticity of the find because of his previous share in the famous Moabite forgeries. But nothing has ever been advanced to show that this statue shares the character of his other discoveries. [4] p. 147. [5] *Catal. du Musée Imp. d'antiquités*, p. 11, no. 27. [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 188. [7] *Z.D.P.V.*, ii., p. 185. [8] 1879, p. 198. [9] *Z.D.P.V.*, vii. (1884), pp., 1–14. [10] *Researches*, vol. ii., pp. 430 *sqq.* [11] *P.E.F.Q.S.*, October, 1893. [12] *Comptes Rendus*, xxvi., p. 606.

CHAPTER XVI

COINS

THE earliest coin attributed to Gaza is the so-called Jehovah coin of the British Museum.[1] On the obverse appears a head with a helmet; on the reverse, a figure seated in a chariot, with a bird in his hand. Above the figure, in Phœnician characters, are the three letters (יהו) (YHW). A bearded head, wearing a mask, is also to be found on the reverse.

Next in age are a number of coins of foreign powers, adapted to the needs of the city. In particular, a number of Athenian coins are found so adapted; *e.g.* No. 12 (mentioned by Six, "Observations sur les Monnaies Phéniciennes," in the "Numismatic Chronicle," new series, xvii., 1877) is a copy of a tetradrachm of Athens. No. 21 is a tetradrachm of Athens[2] with an inscription,[3] which is conjecturally read מלך עזה ("king of Gaza"). Nos. 1–8, with the double-headed decoration, are also to be attributed to Gaza, despite their Greek dress;[4] and No. 29 writes the Semitic for Gaza in Greek order, thus הזע.[5] A curious passage from Berosus[6] is cited which receives new meaning from the figures on these coins. It reads as follows: —

> 'Ανθρώπους γεννηθῆναι, σῶμα μεν ἔχοντας ἓν κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν.
>
> "Having one body, and two heads, a male and a female."[7]

The next coin in point of age which is referred to Gaza is one of Demetrius I. Soter (162–150 B.C.). It is a silver coin of 259.3 grammes' weight. On the obverse is a head of Demetrius, diademed, and a border of laurel wreath. The reverse has the letters |Ā, which no doubt indicate that the coin was minted at Gaza.[8]

The oldest coins that are strictly Gazæan are two of Augustus, of 63 and 66 A.G. It should here be noted that the imperial coins of Gaza do not begin till after the death of Herod the Great. Coins from this time onward are dated according to one of two reckonings, — either that of the era of Gaza or that of the temporary era of Hadrian.

Strangely enough, though the name of Marna, or his symbol the Phœnician *mem*, occurs on many of the coins, a distinctive figure which might assist in his description is not found. His identification with Zeus may account for this. And the Zeus head crowned with laurel is common on these coins. Another common grouping is a distyle temple containing two figures. These are usually taken for Apollo and Artemis, but De Saulcy thinks them to be Marna and the Genius of Gaza (Tyche). Stark [9] suggests an explanation which satisfies both these theories: since Zeus Kasios was usually represented as Apollo, why not similarly Marna; and the Genius of Gaza as Artemis? Another familiar figure upon Gazæan coins is the head of a woman wearing a turret crown, no doubt the Fortune (Tyche) of the city. It may be asked what is the significance of the name Marna which occurs on so many of the coins? The present writer is of the opinion that it refers to Gaza as the city of Marna, its patron deity. The whole name or the initial letter in Phœnician character occurs on many of the imperial Gazæan coins. An interesting passage is found among the fragments of Damascius [10] which is an exact description of the Phœnician letter as it appears on these coins. It reads as follows: —

τότε ὀνομαζόμενον ὅ ἐστιν εὐθεῖα ὀρθὴ μιὰ καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἥ τε κορυφαῖα καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτὴν . . . παρὰ Γαζαίοις τοῦ Διός.

"The sign of Zeus among the Gazæans is one straight line and three strokes after this, and it is the chief and two after it."

The word ΜΕΙΝΩ is also found on some of the coins, and refers to Minoa, the legendary name of Gaza, as reported by Stephen of Byzantium, with reference to its foundation by Minos of Crete. As Stark [11] points out, this name may be derived from the Minæ-

ans who, coming out of Arabia, established themselves here, and made Gaza the headquarters of their incense trade. The legend as reported is no doubt a late attempt to identify early Greek culture with this newly Hellenized region, and grew up out of the accidental likeness of the ethnic name and the name of the hero. Similarly, the name ΕΙΩ appears on some of the coins. Stephen of Byzantium also reports a legend identifying Io with the early history of the city. He also states that the sea between Gaza and the Delta was known as the Ionian Sea; and on some of the coins a cow appears, which, as is well known, was associated with Io legends, and became her symbol.

Interesting, too, is the repeated occurrence of the words ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ. on several coins. An interesting passage from the Gordianus inscription,[12] which reads as follows, explains these abbreviations: —

ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων ἵερα καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος πιστὴ ἡ εὐσεβὴς λάμπρα καὶ μεγάλη κτλ.

"The city of the Gazæans is sacred, and an asylum and autonomous, faithful, pious, brilliant, and great," etc.[13]

A few coins are also found bearing the figure of Hercules and his club. This, too, is in recognition of another legend that the city was founded by a son of the hero, Azon by name.

No silver money of Gaza, *i.e.* of the autonomous period, is extant. All the coins treated of in this section are of copper, minted in three sizes. A further distinction must be made between the coins stamped with the head of the local divinities and those impressed with the emperor's head. The Hadrianic coins of Gaza bear only the name of the city, are dated according to the two eras of the city's reckoning, and, strangely enough, are without the emperor's head. The monogram of Gaza ꟻ is as yet unexplained. Some suggest it is a conventionalization of the Phœnician *mem*. Others that it is a combination of the *gamma* of Gaza and the *iota* of Io, to suggest the Argive origin of the city, while still others associate it with the widespread *crux ansata*. The number of imperial coins is remarkably

large. There is an almost complete list from Augustus to Elagabalus. In the period from Hadrian to Caracalla there are often whole series of years without a break.

[1] *J.Q.R.* xiii., p. 588. This coin is found in the printed catalogue of 1814, although purchased about fifty years previous. On paleographical and archæological grounds it is assigned to about 400 B.C. [2] The obverse: a helmeted head of Pallas Athene; the reverse: an owl and a branch of olive, with the letters עז, which is either an abbreviation of the name due to lack of space on the coin, or a parallel form. [3] The inscription consists of the two Phœnician letters within a square, thus [OLH] חע. It is no doubt an abbreviation for the suggested reading. [4] As these coins conform to one type, the description of one may suffice for them all. Obverse: a double head, with a diadem; the left-hand one, bearded; the other, without a beard, but with an earring. It is in good archaic style. Reverse: deeply cut; an owl, and an ear of wheat, and the inscription ꓱZO, עזה, Gaza. [5] Obverse: head of a woman with a fillet, the hair flowing, with an earring; reverse: an owl with outspread wings, a branch of olive with the lettering ∪|Π, חוע, the whole inclosed within a square depression surrounded with a bead-like ornament. [6] Frag. ap. Syncell. [7] "This blending of male and female elements is frequently met with in Semitic cults, as, *e.g.*, the bearded Astarte, at Paphos and Carthage; the warlike Amazons of Asia Minor, the male Semiramis, the effeminate Sardanapalus, and Herakles who had to perform woman's service for Omphale," De la Saussaye, *op. cit.*, p. 318. Cf. the prohibition in Deuteronomy against wearing the clothes of the opposite sex. Dt. xxii. 5. Cf., too, the frequently found Baal-Tanith. [8] Gardner, *Catalogue of Coins of the Seleucid Kings in the British Museum*, p. 47, no. 29. [9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 575–589. [10] Ed. Ruelle. [11] *Op. cit.*, p. 581. [12] Cf. *supra*. [13] For a complete list of these imperial coins, cf. *supra*, section on *Calendar at Gaza*.

CHAPTER XVII

GAMES AT GAZA — INDUSTRIES AT GAZA — TRADE ROUTES THROUGH GAZA

I

The Hadrianic games (*πανηγυρις* 'Αδριανη) were instituted at Gaza by the emperor Hadrian on the occasion of his visit to the city in 130. Being a patron of the old culture, it was his ambition to found centers from which such influence might emanate, and to strengthen those which were already in existence. Gaza, being the most completely Hellenized city of Palestine, offered itself as a likely field for his endeavors. After the defeat of Bar Kokhba, the Jewish prisoners were brought in large numbers to Gaza and sold there or forced into [1] the games which were then instituted to celebrate the triumph of the Roman arms.[2] The games then became an annual event, and consisted of oratorical contests ("bonos auditores" is a bad translation in the "Totius Orbis Descriptio" of the Greek *ἀκροαμάτικοι*); *Pammacharii*, an athletic event which included boxing and wrestling, and regular *Circenses*,[3] were no doubt part of this festival. The local *παγκρατίον* (the event in which the pammacharii participated) is also mentioned in the inscription of Aphrodisias. In the fourth century the games of Gaza were the most celebrated in Syria.[4] With modifications, they were celebrated till about the time of the author of the "Chronicon Paschale" (7th century, A.D.).[5] When Gaza became Christian, the nature of these celebrations changed materially; they then were not a regular feature of Gazaean life, but were celebrated from time to time to mark the dedication of a church, or some public work. The theaters were

crowded to listen to the rhetoricians who made the dedicatory addresses, which were usually eulogies pronounced upon the builder or the officials of the empire, province, or city; the pantomimes were omitted, being held in high disfavor by the Christians because of their gross character, and having been forbidden by decree of the emperor Anastasius I. The sanguinary features such as those associated with the Circenses were not observed; but the occasion was made as brilliant as possible by the presence of large bodies of visitors, numerous delegations being present from other cities; by the decoration and illumination of the city; and by the encouragement of the local trades. The fairs of the city were famous throughout Palestine, and frequent mention is made of them in the rabbinical sources.[6]

Clermont-Ganneau calls attention to an annual fair still held in Gaza at the gate Bâ beî-Darûm. It is called 'Îd el-Nasâra ("the Feast of the Christians") by the Moslems. This may be a continuance of the old games.[7] During the Middle Ages the Saracens indulged in similar celebrations. At the present day a plot of ground, southwest of the city, is known as the Maidan el-Zaid; it contains the ruins of a race-course built about seven centuries ago. D'Arvieux [8] tells of the jousts which the Turks indulged in on the neighboring plain.

II

Gaza was famed in antiquity for its varied industries. Pottery made there was well known, and was called "Gazitæ." [9] Large wine-jugs were a specialty of the local potteries, Gaza being the center of the wine trade for Egypt and Syria.[10] There was a colony of wine-dealers in the harbor Maioumas.[11] The wine of Gaza was mentioned in the code of Justinian together with the other famous wines of antiquity.[12] And in the West it was well known under the names of "Gazetum," and "Gazetinum." [13] Besides its wines, the native grains and oils of Gaza were famous.

The city was always a busy trade-center. Indeed, it may be said that Gaza owed its very existence to the commerce which

was transacted there. It was the port of the desert. All the products of Arabia were transhipped there for the Western world. It is spoken of as a busy city by Ammianus Marcellianus, by Junior Philosophus, by Antoninus Martyr and by the author of the "Totius Orbis Descriptio," and others. Though inland, it had its own harbor, from which the water trade with the West was carried on. This began to be marked during the Persian period, as the earliest coins testify. The fact that there was a temple to Marnas at Ostia testifies to the importance of the Gazæan trade with that port.[14]

It is interesting to note that the wine trade, which continued to be a feature of the city's business for many centuries, was in the hands of the Jews in the Middle Ages.[15] To-day pottery is one of the chief industries of the city. Besides brick and soap making and the weaving of cotton, linen, wool, and to a small extent silk manufacture is carried on. In pottery and weaving Gaza excels all the other cities of Palestine.[16]

III

According to Pliny [17] there were routes through Gaza to southern Arabia, Petra, and Palmyra besides that to Egypt. South of el-Auje, at the Wady Ruhêbe, the road to Gaza divides. The route which runs to the northwest, called the west road, joins Aila on the Ailanitic Gulf to Philistia; and the other, the so-called east road, runs through the Mahrah plateau and joins Gaza with Petra.[18] But of all the roads which centered in Gaza that which ran to southern Arabia, the great incense road, was the most important. The frankincense groves were the source of the wealth and the importance of the old Minæan kingdom, as it became that of the Sabæans, and even later of the Gebanites.[19] This incense was an important article in the temple rituals of antiquity; and its use was confined to ecclesiastics and kings. The route extended from Tomna, the capital of the Gebanites, to Gaza. It was divided into sixty-five stations.[20] The stations were somewhat as follows, though these mentioned were

not all on the direct route, but in many cases were alternative ones. From Gaza to Petra was four marches, of which only the last, Halguia, is mentioned (§ 204).[21] Then follow these stations on the great frankincense road:—

(§ 206) Αδρου [Adruḥ]; (§ 207) Ἀραμαυα [Arâm]; (§ 208) Ἀκκαλη [el-Ḥagl]; (§ 209) Μαδιαμα [Madyan]; (§ 210) Μακνα [Makna]; (§ 211) Λαβα [el-Kilâba]; (§ 212) Ἑγρα [el-Ḥijr]; (§ 214) Νεκλα [ʿAqabat]; (§ 215) Ὀσταμα [Tabûk]; (§ 216) Αχρουα [Akraʿ]; (§ 218) Θαιμα [Taima]; Γαιιπολις; (§ 219) Οβρακα [Abrak el-Thamaidan]; (§ 222) Θαπαυα [Thapaya; the road to Palmyra branches off here. It is fifteen days' march from Thapaya to Palmyra]; (§ 224) Ραδουκομη; Φαραθα; (§ 227) Μοχουρα [Dhu Marwa]; (§ 228) Ἀυσαρα; (§ 229) Θουμνα; (§ 230) Ἀλουαρα; (§ 231) Λαθριππα; (§ 232) Βαιβα [el-Abwâ]; (§ 234) Μακοραβα [Makka]; (§ 235) Θουμαια [Thumala]; (§ 236) Ἀγδαμου [Jorash]; (§ 237) Καρμαν βασιλειον; (§ 238) Λαθθα [Laatha]; (§ 239) Μαρα Μητροπολις [Saʿda]; (§ 240) Ναγαρα μητροπολις [Najrân]; (§ 241) Ἀμαρα [a doublet of Mara?]; (§ 242) Σιλεον [Salḥyn]; (§ 244) Μαριαμα [Mariaba]; (§ 246) Θουμνα; (§ 247) Ουοδουα; (§ 248) Σαββαθα μητροπολις [Shabwât]; (§ 250) Μαδασαρα; (§ 251) Γοδρα [Jerdân]; (§ 252) Μαιφα μητροπολις; (§ 253) Ραιδα; (§ 254) Βαινουν; (§ 255) Θαβανη; (§ 256) Μαριμαθα; (§ 258) Ιουλη; (§ 259) Ὀμανου ἐμποριον.

Wherever identification with a modern site is possible it has been made; and enough sites have been identified to enable one to trace the general course of the road.

Ibn Khordadhbeh,[22] who lived in the ninth century, gives the following information concerning the roads which branched out of Gaza. The stations from Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean were as follows: el-Raḳḳa, Dawsar, Dâkin, Jisr Manbij, Ḥalab,[23] el-Athârib, 'Amk, Antâkia, Lâdhikiya, Jabala,[24] Atrâbulus of Syria,[25] Beirut,[26] Ṣaida,[27] Ṣur,[28] Kadas (?) Kaisariyya,[29] Arsouf, Jaffa, Askelon, and Ghazza.

The route from Ramleh to Misr (Egypt or Cairo) he gives as follows: Ramleh, Ashdod, Gaza, Rafa, Arîsh. Hence there are two routes: one through the desert, by way of el-Warrâda, el-Bakkhâra, el-Faramâ:[30] the other, along the coast via el-Maklaasa, el-Kaṣra, el-Faramâ. From el-Faramâ there are two

roads to Cairo; one is known as the summer route and includes Jorjyr, Fakûs el-Ghâdhira, Masjid Kodhâ'a, Bilbais, Cairo: the other, known as the winter route, runs from el-Faramâ to el-Marṣad, to el-Ghâdhira, etc. With this route may be compared that taken by Meshullam of Volterra at the end of the fifteenth century. His ran as follows: Cairo, el-Ḳnika, Beri, Bilbis, Hatarah, Salaḥiyeh, Bibirro Rivayirar, Katiyeh, Be'er D'Abir, 'Erari, Melḥasin, Arish, Azeka, Khan Yûnus, Gaza. The differences between the two are no doubt due to varying nomenclature, though it is impossible to identify many of the names in both accounts. The general route is, however, fairly well established; and no doubt these same lines have been followed since time immemorial. The caravan from Gaza joins the Ḥajj at Ma'in.

[1] *Chron. Pasch.* 254. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Jerome, *Vita Hilarionis*, 20. [4] *Tot Orb. Descr.* [5] *Loc. cit.* [6] Yer. *'Abodah Zarah*, i. 39 d; *Bereshit Rabbah*, § 47. [7] *Researches*, ii., pp. 435 *sqq.* [8] ii., 56. [9] Stephen of Byzantium, s.v. *Gaza.* [10] *Tot. Orb. Descr.*, c. 29. [11] Marc. Diac., c. 5. [12] *Corp. de laud. Just. min.* iii. 88 *sqq.* [13] Stark, p. 562. [14] Preller, *Roemische Mythologie*, ii. 399. [15] Meshullam of Volterra, *circa* 1480. [16] *Z.D.P.V.*, viii. 69. Cf., too, above "Modern City." [17] *Hist. Nat.*, v. 12. [18] Hildesheim, *Beitraege zur Geographie Palaestinas*, pp. 77, 78. [19] *Z.D.M.G.*, xliv. 504. [20] Sprenger, *Die Alte Geographie Arabiens*, ch. 2. [21] *Ibid.* [22] *Kitâb al-Masâlik wal-Mamâlik*, ed. De Gœje, 1889. [23] Aleppo. [24] Gebal. [25] Tripolis. [26] Beirut. [27] Sidon. [28] Tyre. [29] Cæsarea. [30] Pelusium.

INDEX

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